Bringing the Ideas of Marvyn Novick to Life

An Anthology with Commentaries

Marvyn Novick, Fall 2011

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Dedication

Dedicated to Marvyn's wife Ryva Novick, founder of the Children's Storefront in Toronto, and their children and grandchildren who inspired Marvyn's commitment to the children of Canada.

Marvyn and Ryva Novick

Marvyn Novick with Children and Grandchildren

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Personal Reflections

On Family

Gillian Novick

My family is deeply appreciative of this publication and the opportunity it provides to hear about the legacy and continued relevance of my father's work. We are glad to have a chance to provide a few words about how his thinking and understandings played out in his professional ideas and his life with us.

Growing up, everyone in my family knew that inside the cover of a book on a particular bookshelf, there was always a $20 bill. My dad made sure of this, always. His thinking was that it would be there for when it was required, if any of us needed it, always. Before we all had the ability to summon a car and pay for a ride with a few taps on a glass screen, a person in a jam might need it to pay for a cab ride home. If it was used, it would be replaced. It was there, period.

If it was grabbed to buy gas for the car, it reappeared. If my teenage siblings spent it on things teenagers, then as now, spend money on, it was there again. If I ordered a late-night pizza on a Tuesday, I knew I'd be able to do it again on another night, because it would be there.

And so we did, over and over again. My father, though, only got frustrated if we failed to inform him that we had used it. The issue was never that money was wasted or misused - this was irrelevant. Rather, it was about maintaining the integrity of the insurance system that was in place. Without proper information sharing, that system could fail and so might not be available when someone really needed it.

If this was true for his children and his family, it was necessarily true for all families, and for other people's children. In 1994, he wrote:

We are compelled to care about the well-being and prospects of other people's children as a condition of preserving our nationhood. If the value placed on national

life recedes…our relations with children and each other change profoundly. Children lose their collective status and are no longer the bond of national continuity. Instead, they become private presences whose entry into the world is occasioned by private fulfillment…. Children inherit the condition of their sustenance and in turn are expected as adults to guard and enhance the bestowal of legacies to succeeding generations.

He often spoke and wrote of caring for families as a "covenant". When he did, he meant that to care for others was sacred, and as close to primordial as organized societies can be - the absolute fundament upon which the edifice can grow. He was equally compelled by the covenant around other people's children as he was by the children, grandchildren and family that touched him personally. In this way, he insisted on something sacred in something that was ordinary.

I think that the story of the $20 bill goes a long way to understanding how deeply and precisely my dad felt about the interaction between policy and its intended users: he insisted that it should capture real life. In real life, of course we used it for things that weren't emergencies sometimes, so his system accounted for this. It had to, because its purpose was to provide security in the face of need. The household provided unconditionally, because to do so was good for all of us.

My dad would have been the first to point out that his perspective on the interaction of policy and family life was deeply informed by my mother's work. My mother, Ryva Rogatko Novick, was the founder and director of The Children's Storefront, the first family resource program in Canada. My dad was very much a part of the community it created, which meant that as he was working on ideas about policies that would impact family life, he was also hearing real, local and lived experiences of the people who were affected by policies and services. This affected him deeply and in every part of his work. In the same sense that he loved to travel throughout Canada to meet with local organizations and community groups to hear about their unique challenges and experiences in engaging with policy, he also gave his students in Ryerson University's School of Social Work assignments that would require them to actually apply for some of the services their eventual clients would be accessing, just so they understood first-hand exactly what this was like for real people.

My father worked to change the way people think about government and policy, but also about the way government and policy imagine people, so that they too would provide unconditionally. Families, people on social assistance and others in economically insecure positions needed the same sense of security and dignity as his own family, so that we all can feel secure, do our best, contribute and flourish. This too, is good for all of us.

Gillian Novick is Marvyn's daughter.

On Marvyn's Jewish Roots

David Lewis Stein

Marvyn loved to go to United Bakers. This restaurant, owned by the third generation of one family, has successfully migrated from the old downtown Jewish neighborhood to one of Toronto's first suburban shopping plazas. United Bakers is more than a centre for traditional Jewish delicacies such as gefilte fish, chopped herring and crisp potato pancakes. In the perpetually, busy, noisy, confusing ambience of "United," one could find factory owners and union leaders, merchants and wholesalers, gamblers, artists, university students and teachers, politicians, and tables with whole families from small children to grandparents. United Bakers is like a whole Jewish neighborhood. Marv often talked about how his experience of growing up Jewish in this kind of lively neighborhood helped to shape his intellectual and professional life. It clearly informed his strong commitment to solidarity and universality in social policy, his ability to speak to 'ordinary people', and his focus on what we have in common rather than on what divides us.

This was not a religious experience although he did occasionally come with me to a small observant synagogue that could have fit comfortably into Warsaw a century earlier. But when it came to the religious content of Judaism, I think Marv was probably agnostic and, when pressed, may even have said he was a full-fledged atheist. Still, he was always respectful of those who kept to the ritual practices of the Jewish religion. He appreciated their learning and the role they played in holding the Jewish community together.

Marv often identified himself as a "Jew of the diaspora," part of the worldwide dispersal that began when the Emperor Hadrian destroyed Jerusalem and Jews were driven out of Israel and into centuries of rootless exile. In modern times, faced with war and the horrors of the Holocaust, many young people of Marv's generation turned to Israel as a spiritual home. Marv, however, was rooted in Canada. His life and his work were here.

For the Jews who came to Canada from the country villages and urban ghettoes of eastern Europe, life had centered on the home and the synagogue. In Canada, and particularly in Toronto and Montreal, to an often hostile environment, Jews responded by creating a complex network of secular self-help and political organizations. The Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) was particularly important. The YMHA matched the athletic facilities of the YMCA and added a wide range of educational and

social activities. Marvyn thrived working in this non-athletic sector of the Y. It was here that he met Ryva who was engaged in similar community-building work and they eventually married. Among his other activities, Marv joined the effort to keep Yiddish alive. This international lingua franca of the Jews has been almost obliterated by the Nazis but Montreal remained a centre for Yiddish culture. Marv performed in amateur Yiddish plays. He had a good command of Yiddish and a fine resonant voice that served him well in his later career as a teacher and political advocate.

As his horizons expanded and his thinking deepened, Marv traveled across Canada and connected with thinkers and activists in Europe and even Vietnam. He ceaselessly worked on ideas of social progress that are discussed in this volume. But then he would take time off to have lunch at United Bakers and touch base with the roots of where it all began.

David Lewis Stein was a long-time friend of Marvyn's and, for many years, the municipal affairs reporter for The Toronto Star.

On Community

Wanda MacNevin

I first met Marvyn Novick in 1976 when he visited the Jane-Finch community in his role as staff with the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. At that time, folks who worked at City Hall, and at social agencies downtown, did not understand suburban communities or their needs - imagining that areas like Jane-Finch, Rexdale, and Malvern were populated by "middle-class" homeowners (pre-dominantly Italian working-class families). Marvyn tossed a coin with a colleague and whoever lost had to come to Jane-Finch.

While reluctant to come at first, after a tour of the community, where he could see the poor planning and the ghettoization of low-income residents in poorly designed social housing, he also began to see the rich diversity of people who called Jane-Finch home. He embraced our community and worked with community leaders and agencies; he became a champion of the (inner-city) suburbs.

Marvyn said, "In 1976, we were living in the urban reform period in Toronto, where the suburbs were dismissed as a place of dull middle-class life. Downtown Toronto was where all the exciting things were happening with young wise people who were into new ways of living. We were on the cutting edge of urban life. . . why would

anybody want to go up to Jane Finch!"

I was initially intimidated by Marvyn. A young single mom, with three young children, living in social housing; I felt lucky that the Jane/Finch Community and Family Centre (Jane/Finch Centre) had recently hired me. I was just finding my way back into the working world. Spending time with Marvyn was a bit overwhelming. While his energy and enthusiasm in a meeting was contagious and he truly listened to what we had to say, clearly he was educated and well-informed. It was hard not to be overwhelmed by his thinking and his drive.

Marvyn clearly saw the inequities in our community, and this fuelled his decision to pursue the major suburban study for Social Planning Council called, Metro's Suburbs in Transition. In the study he said, "it became clear that the rest of the world should know that there was another reality up there, which few knew about." That report opened doors for resources and supports to all the inner suburbs across the City.

I remember specifically talking to him about our desire to have a resource centre that would offer programs for mothers and their children. Marvyn, in his action-oriented mode, arranged for a small group to visit the Children's Storefront where Ryva, his wife, was the Executive Director. That visit solidified our thinking for the development of a Child/Parent centre we then set up in Jane-Finch.

Marvyn told us about his experience parking his car behind the apartment building that housed the Jane/Finch Centre. The wind was strong, and he could barely walk around to the front door. Thinking about mothers and their children, he took it upon himself to find out about wind-testing in this area. "There was no requirement at urban planning that there be wind-tunnelling done to see what impact all these different high-rises would have on generating these air-flows that would make it difficult for people to walk. Planners could have insisted that proposed high rise developments be wind-tunnelled. They could have sited them in a way so that the air flows would allow people to walk."

Next thing I knew, Marvyn had made arrangements for some wind-tunnel studies to be done along Finch. There I was with one of his students, holding an instrument while walking along Finch. He was indeed an action-oriented person!

While Marvyn eventually become Dean of Community Services at Ryerson University, he never forgot us in Jane-Finch. He would make a point of coming to special Annual General Meetings. He came to the Centre's Twentieth Anniversary event. "I remember going to the 20th anniversary of the Jane/Finch Community and Family Centre." He told me. "It was at Northwood Community Centre with about 80 – 100 people in attendance. Four generations of residents were there, people from many different ethno-cultural groups – from South Asia, East Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. I remember saying to myself that in downtown Toronto, people talked community, but in Jane-Finch people lived community."

In our last conversation, shortly before he passed away, he told me that he was looking forward to attending the Centre's 40th anniversary. While I was sorry he wasn't there to celebrate with us and share our accomplishments, I will always re

member his commitment and dedication to leveling the playing field between the downtown city and Toronto's inner suburbs.

Wanda MacNevin was a friend of Marvyn's and in 2017 was awarded an Honorary Doctor of Laws by York University for her over 40 years as a leader, activist and author in the Jane-Finch community.

On Marvyn as a Public Academic

Terry Grier

When I undertook to chair the search committee for Dean of the Faculty of Community Services at Toronto Metropolitan University in 1982 and saw Marvyn Novick's name in the list of candidates, I could hardly believe our good luck. I knew his reputation from his work at the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto. In the end, he was appointed and served for six years.

As dean, Marvyn brought a comprehensive knowledge of the urban world for which TMU was preparing its students, not least those in his faculty. He was an exemplary academic leader and administrator, a professional colleague with very effective bureaucratic skills that he never allowed to get in the way of the intrinsic objectives he sought. He was a rigorous, disciplined thinker and advocate, always civil, constructive, positive, and creative, with a powerful analytic ability.

Marvyn brought overdue leadership and cohesion to a faculty which consisted of half a dozen disparate departments which, up to then, had virtually no experience of working together. Under Marvyn, they began to cooperate in collective endeavours, of which the most significant was achieving professional accreditation for each of the academic programs. As this work progressed, and was ultimately successful, there emerged a strong collective morale and a new sense of mission. Faculty 'in name only' became a 'faculty in fact', highly regarded and respected. Marvyn's leadership transformed the culture of his faculty. He was, as a colleague recalled to me recently "the perfect fit."

When his successful term as dean ended, Marvyn chose not seek reappointment but joined the full-time Social Work faculty. He was a fine teacher and mentor to his students. It would have been a privilege to have been one of them.

Marvyn's term as dean ended about the same time I was appointed president and

TMU's move toward full university status began to get underway. He strongly supported this development and we talked on several occasions about the kind of university TMU should seek to become. He urged that its character be consciously that of a City University: one which not only saw its mission in terms of academic programs of the highest quality, but also projected a broader ethos that would pervade the institution. Such a university would foster and reflect an egalitarian attitude that would be sensitive to Toronto's cultural and racial diversity, its issues of social justice for under-represented groups, accessibility, cross-cultural relations, at all times responsive to the issues and concerns of life and work in a very large city. Among the examples he cited were Sir George Williams in Montreal, and City University of New York.

Marvyn's insights were an element in the ultimately successful case we put before the Ontario government in 1991. Several decades later, a much larger Toronto Metropolitan University is indeed a mature city university at the very heart of Canada's largest and most diverse metropolis. I like to think Marvyn would approve of how TMU has evolved since his time.

It was a privilege to have been a colleague of his, working together in an enterprise of great importance. Marvyn was one of the most admirable people I have known and I learned much from him. Deeply principled and full of passionate intensity, he made his indelible mark on TMU and left it a better place for his having been there.

Terry Grier was the President of Toronto Metropolitan University from 1988 to 1995.

Introduction

Peter Clutterbuck and Christa Freiler

Marvyn Novick (1940-2016) was a leading thinker and contributor to social policy in Ontario and Canada. He researched and wrote major national reports on child poverty in Canada; conducted a widely cited pioneering study on changing social conditions in Toronto suburbs; addressed issues of employment, civic and community well-being, and the life chances of children; and focused public attention on the need for cross-community alliances to build inclusive communities and on the social responsibilities of government at all levels.

Although retired after a distinguished career in the social planning field in Toronto and as Dean of Community Services and teacher in the School of Social Work at Toronto Metropolitan University (formerly Ryerson University[1]). Marvyn remained actively engaged as a contributor to the social policy work of the Social Planning Network of Ontario.

1 Ryerson University changed its name to Toronto Metropolitan University (TMU) in April 2022. With the exception of the original policy texts, 'Toronto Metropolitan University' is used through-out this document.

Marvyn's Ideas and Values

Marvyn was a visionary, a humanist and a community activist, equally comfortable in the worlds of social policy ideas and community practice. His vision of an inclusive and equitable Canada recognized the importance of both diversity and what we have in common as part of the human community. Decent work and decent incomes were central to that vision. In 2014 he wrote:

We have a common stake in creating communities of shared opportunity for all. Investing in work that protects and enhances our environment, supports civic and community well-being, and grows local economies will produce social and economic benefits for all. Pursuing this path will demand the activation of a collective stewardship that engages all parts of the community in a discussion of how to work together for the common good. ("Time for a Civic Declaration on Decent Work and Basic Incomes for All").

Among his peers, Marvyn was recognized as an incisive and meticulous thinker. His work resonated, however, not only because of its intellectual rigour, but because it was grounded - in clear ethical positions and in community. He never wavered from the core values of solidarity, collective and civic responsibility, dignity, decency and universality. He always made sure that his research and policies were tested in the community, frequently via community soundings or neighbourhood meetings. Looking back, Marvyn described the impact that working with local people in Toronto's Jane-Finch neighbourhood had on him.

[It made me realize] that there are worlds of people, of sophistication, of commitment, of knowledge that existed outside of the insular bubble of Toronto. Jane Finch liberated me from the self-enchantment of Toronto. And so, these worlds keep opening up. (The Black Creek Living History Project).

Marvyn believed that the welfare state was one of Canada's greatest achievements because of its contribution to civic vitality and social solidarity and its role in protecting vulnerable people from social and economic insecurity and in helping all of us to live decent and meaningful lives. He was immensely proud of Canada's universal programs - medicare and education – and a tireless advocate for universality in social programs as part of our collective stewardship, and in progressive taxation to ensure that governments had the revenue to pay for what we valued. In a 1992 policy dossier written for the Social Planning Council of Metro Toronto, Marvyn went so far as to maintain that "social programs are at the heart of nationhood" because they reflect what citizenship really means to people:

…. they reflect values and they create, not the principles of citizenship, but the real daily life meaning of citizenship to people, what it means to be sick, what it means to have need for support, what it means to be helped through into old age."

Marvyn was a strong proponent of the dignity and inherent value of all people. At the same time, children held a special place in Marvyn's professional and private life and in his vision of Canada. He argued that child poverty "was neither inevitable nor justifiable but an immoral and unjust abdication of public responsibility". Children were not just the private responsibility of their parents but a collective responsibility because we all benefit when public policies do a good job of supporting families with children. In fact, our future depends on it. In 1994, he wrote:

We are compelled to care about the well-being and prospects of other people's children as a condition of preserving our nationhood. If the value placed on national life recedes…our relations with children and each other change profoundly. Children lose their collective status and are no longer the bond of national continuity. Instead, they become private presences whose entry into the world is occasioned by private fulfillment…. Children inherit the condition of their sustenance and in turn are expected as adults to guard and enhance the bestowal of legacies to succeeding generations. (Foreword to The Missing Child in Liberal Theory).

Marvyn had a remarkable talent for finding language that could compel attention and convey meaning in the most effective and persuasive way possible. He was also very practical and strategic, as evidenced by the policy proposals in the work of the Child Poverty Action Group, Campaign 2000 and the Social Planning Network of Ontario.

Marvyn challenged us to think big, to focus on our common humanity and lived experiences, and to act collaboratively and collectively. Civic life and civic solidarity were important because they were about how people lived together. Children were important not just as 'human capital' but because their lives and experiences, as children, mattered. These and Marvyn's other ideas are just as important now as they were when he wrote about them.

The Shaping of a Social Visionary

Marvyn had prepared his own epitaph some time before his passing. If considered a measure of a life of social impact, no one would deny that he met the standard.

It is up to us
To hallow creation
To repair the world

The line is from the Aleynu, a Jewish prayer. "Tikkun Olam" translating as "repairing the world" calls upon Jewish people to make the world more just and tolerant through both charitable and political action.

Marvyn came by this tradition through his Jewish family upbringing in Montreal, first acting upon the world through youth work at the Montreal Young Men's Hebrew Association. Marvyn's long-time friend, David Lewis Stein, the former municipal affairs columnist for The Toronto Star, reflected on how Marvyn loved going to eat at United Bakers in Toronto because:

In the perpetually, busy, noisy, confusing ambience of "United," one could find factory owners and union leaders, merchants and wholesalers, gamblers, artists, university students and teachers, politicians, and tables with whole families from small children to grandparents. United Bakers is like a whole Jewish neighborhood. Marv often talked about how his experience of growing up Jewish in this kind of lively neighborhood helped to shape his intellectual and professional life.

Marvyn's education took him to Ann Arbor, Michigan where his social work studies involved welfare rights organizing. Speaking of this time, he recounted a brief exposure to and conversation with Saul Alinksy, the American community activist and political theorist. Marvyn felt privileged to have spent a day chauffeuring him around town to local talks and meetings. Later, in the inner city of Baltimore, Marvyn's work involved linking Black community workers and white community workers to tackle common issues such as housing. When then President Nixon cut funding to community programs, Marvyn left the United States and moved to Toronto in 1970.

In Toronto, Marvyn launched his professional career at the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, and he started his own family with Ryva Rogatko Novick, whom he had met while working at the Montreal YMHA. He happily became a parent to Ryva's children from her previous marriage - Jordy, Janie and Joff. A little later, they added their daughter, Gillian, to the family. In a reflection on her father's life, Gillian, on behalf of the family, affirmed Marvyn's dedication to Tikkun Olam, bearing his passion for social justice as a sacred trust, especially with respect to children and families:

He often spoke and wrote of caring for families as a "covenant". When he did, he meant that to care for others was sacred, and as close to primordial as organized societies can be - the absolute fundament upon which the edifice can grow. He was equally compelled by the covenant around other people's children as he was by the children, grandchildren and family that touched him personally. In this way, he insisted on something sacred in something that was ordinary.

At the Social Planning Council, Marvyn exercised his research, policy analysis, writing, advocacy and community practice skills in a series of impactful initiatives, from the landmark Metro's Suburbs in Transition (1979) to leadership in the formation of the Child Poverty Action Group (1985) and Campaign 2000 (1991) to end child poverty. In 1975, Marvyn and several other community leaders founded the Urban Alliance on Race Relations in response to "increasing frequency of hate-motivated violence against African and South Asian Canadians in Toronto's streets, subways and shopping plazas".

Marvyn assumed the position of Dean of Community Services at Toronto Metropolitan University in 1983. Terry Grier, a past president of TMU, describes the pivotal role

Marvyn played in changing the culture of the Faculty and building a strong collective morale and sense of mission. Grier also recognized Marvyn's influence in shaping the kind of university TMU would become (and still is) as it moved toward full university status in 1993.

[Marvyn] urged that its character be consciously that of a City University: one which not only saw its mission in terms of academic programs of the highest quality, but also projected a broader ethos that would pervade the institution. Such a university would foster and reflect an egalitarian attitude that would be sensitive to Toronto's cultural and racial diversity, its issues of social justice for under-represented groups, accessibility, cross-cultural relations, at all times responsive to the issues and concerns of life and work in a very large city.

While at TMU, Marvyn combined teaching and academic leadership with an active role in the work of community and national organizations, authoring policy and discussion papers on child and family poverty, inclusive cities, work and well-being, and family insecurity. He shaped the Laidlaw Foundation's strategic funding strategy on a life cycle approach to social policy and best practices in child and family supports, as well the Centre for International Statistics through the Canadian Council on Social Development. In his retirement, Marvyn became the guiding force in the Social Planning Network of Ontario's cross-community advocacy for provincial policy and legislation on poverty reduction in Ontario.

This anthology of Marvyn's selected writings reflects these contributions to social policy and community practice and offers commentaries from many of Marvyn's colleagues and associates from his five-decade career. The commentaries and reflections point to the impact of his thinking and action throughout that career, on their relevance to the times we live in now, and to the future of social policy and community practice in Canada.

Anthology as Part of a Broader Mission

The Marvyn Novick Legacy Group, an informal group made up of family members, friends and former colleagues of Marvyn, has been meeting since his passing in 2016 to honour his memory in a number of ways. A celebration of his life was held in November of that year. A memorial lecture was organized a year later on decent work and basic income, topics to which Marvyn had been giving much thought.

Searching for more lasting forms to share Marvyn's legacy, the Group framed the following mission statement:

To bring the thinking and passion behind Marvyn's ideas to life – their roots, their moral imperative, their power to move, their strategic focus and how they lead us forward to a world we believe in.

The Group has undertaken three courses of action on this commitment:

1)A Policy Research Symposium in November 2019 on The Social Commons: Transformational Thinking on Social Solidarity for the 21st Century attracting more than 100 community activists, policy-makers, and academics to consider the concept of the Social Commons as a possible lens for framing progressive social policy for our times. Marvyn had been investigating the potential of the Social Commons in recent years, as explained by Brigitte Kitchen in the Epilogue to this volume.

2)Socialcommons.ca, a web site with original and curated writing on topics and issues relevant to social commons thinking and transformative social policy.

3)This anthology of selected writings by Marvyn throughout his career and commentaries by his contemporaries on the importance of his thinking at the time as well as its relevance to the social, economic and political challenges facing Canada and those living in Canada.

The volume is intended to serve both a retrospective (looking back) role and prospective (looking forward) role.

As a retrospective, it aims:
- To make historically significant works available to the next generation of social policy and community leaders;
- To enhance people's understanding of key foundational issues in community planning and social development that have had a lasting impact in Toronto, Ontario and beyond; and
- To capture the accomplishments of the welfare state in Canada seen through the lens of important social policy concepts, initiatives, and advocacy efforts against the challenges posed by neoliberalism.

As a prospective, it aims:
- To help animate discussion of social policy issues and 21st century approaches to solving them among current practitioners and the next generation of thinkers and activists;
- To deepen our understanding of the anchors we need in a rapidly changing world to guide decisions and embed them in a community context; and
- To contribute to more inclusive cities and communities by focusing on the foundations that build community solidarity and civic cohesion.

The intended audiences for the publication include students and academics, community practitioners, labour activists, religious communities, historians, journalists, and policy makers.

This anthology consists of work that Marvyn authored, as well as writings in which he played the role of lead generator of ideas, conceptualizer and framer, but not primary author. The selections chosen are visionary, pioneering, and having influence on changes in public policy; or that highlight Marvyn's core values; or that offer a strong rationale for a transformed Canadian welfare state, emphasizing the importance of civic life and the social commons.

Key Themes and Ideas in Marvyn's Thinking and Writing

The ideas articulated and championed by Marvyn Novick are as relevant today as they were in his lifetime. They give us both an intellectual foundation and a moral compass to help us navigate our way to a more inclusive and just future. Marvyn's work resonated not only because of its intellectual rigour but because it was grounded both in clear ethical positions and in the everyday experience of living in community. Also, Marvyn addressed his analysis and recommended action for progressive change to the full range of actors – political leaders and policymakers at all levels of government, leaders and non-profit organizations in the community sector and labour movement, and the social responsibilities of the private profit-making sector.

Individuals invited to write commentaries on selected works by Marvyn were asked to explore the core ideas or policy proposals in Marvyn's writings, not only for their significance to the time when he was writing but for their relevance to the present day and the future social and economic well-being of Canadian society.

The Table of Contents of this anthology organizes Marvyn's work under four main cross-cutting themes, selecting full text or excerpts from the primary source, accompanied by the commentary of an associate who knew Marvyn and whose own work is related to the specific theme. Where an excerpt of Marvyn's writing is used instead of the full text, every attempt has been made to provide a link to the original, recognizing that Marvyn started his career in pre-digital times, so that on-line accessibility can be difficult for some of his earlier work.

Cities, Community Services and Civic Alliances

Marvyn, who met with Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers to propose social policy action, did so confidently because he had knowledge and direct experience of the living conditions, opportunities and challenges of everyday life in community. Commenting on Marvyn's landmark two-volume study Metro Suburbs in Transition (MSIT, 1979, 1980), David Hulchanski asserts that Marvyn "was the first to recognize, document, and make recommendations about the changing nature of postwar suburban neighbourhoods in the city." According to Marvyn himself, *Metro's Suburbs in Transition* "changed everything":

The report got enormous coverage changing perceptions of who lived in the City. It helped build metropolitan alliances. People in the downtown, in Parkdale, in Kensington, in Regent Park and in east Toronto, recognized there were people similar to them in other parts of North York and Etobicoke [the suburbs]. The building of alliances started and this was quite important. But it just didn't happen overnight. (The Black Creek Living History Project).

Importantly, Marvyn's inspiration for investigating the reality of suburban life arose from his visit to and relationship with the leadership and residents of the Jane-Finch community in the mid-70s. His recommendations for city and provincial action on community resource development in the suburbs were based as much on a thorough analysis of 1976 census data as on his first-hand witness of the struggles of under-resourced suburban community life.

Wanda MacNevin, a single mother with three young children, had recently been hired by the Jane/Finch Child and Family Centre when she met Marvyn who was visiting Jane Finch for the first time. In her reflection in this anthology, she recounts this anecdote:

Marvyn told us about his experience parking his car behind the apartment building that housed the Jane/Finch Centre. The wind was strong, and he could barely walk around to the front door. Thinking about mothers and their children, he took it upon himself to find out about wind-testing in this area. Next thing I knew, Marvyn had made arrangements for some wind-tunnel studies to be done along Finch. There I was with one of his students, holding an instrument while walking along Finch. He was indeed an action-oriented person!

Metro's Suburbs in Transition had an impact on Metro Toronto's social development in the 1980s, and led to the development of significant future research such as the United Way's Poverty by Postal Code (2004) and David Hulchanski's The Three Cities Within Toronto: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970–2005, published by the Urban Centre at the University of Toronto. Long before that, however, Marvyn followed up MSIT with a deeper dive into neighbourhood supports, leading the Joint Task Force on Neighbourhood Support Services in 1983-84 to reinforce the importance of investing in local organizational capacity to meet local needs. The data base for this research came from surveying almost 100 locally driven support programs and discussing the findings with local leadership.

As Mary Lewis writes in her commentary of the Task Force's Report Neighbourhoods Under Stress (1984) this work "makes the case that this 'ground level' within a hierarchical human services system of public and city-wide agencies is critical because radical changes in family structure, forms of urban-suburban lifestyles and settlement patterns had led to an erosion of the primary support networks which traditionally formed the basis of social support". Neighbourhoods Under Stress became the key document of a very active advocacy campaign that resulted in the announcement in 1985 of a new funding program, called the Community and Neighbourhood Support Services Program (CNSSP).

Lewis points out that Marvyn's thinking on local leadership and local accountability

in supporting community needs preceded by 20 years the emergence of "place-based" models of community support.

In his commitment to the local, Marvyn also recognized the danger of falling into a communitarian approach in the American tradition with little attention to and limited expectations of higher levels of public responsibility. This is reflected in his work with Inclusive Cities Canada in the early 2000s. In "Civic Alliances for a Mutual Canada" (2003), Marvyn linked the social and cultural diversity of Canadian communities to a very particular kind of Canadian citizenship:

It is within municipalities that basic states of social inclusion are cultivated and experienced. It is within civic communities that the relationships between citizenship and diversity are established. When social vulnerabilities and racial differences lead to serious disparities of circumstances and prospects, as is disturbingly evident in Canadian communities, then diversity is stripped of dignity and citizenship is devoid of mutual responsibility.

Notably, this research for the Laidlaw Foundation and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities combined Marvyn's commitment to ground level research with people in communities and municipalities with the notion of horizontal linkages for promoting social change. The research was conducted locally by holding community soundings across six Canadian cities. The purpose was to generate a "cross-Canada civic alliance" for impact on senior government policymakers, breaking free of the typical vertical and bilateral pattern of policy advocacy between communities and cities and their respective provincial governments and the federal government.

Children, Families and Youth: A Collective Responsibility

Marvyn's core values were reflected in no policy area more clearly than his thinking and writing about children and families. He showed his commitment to this area first in his community practice and voluntary work with Ryva, his wife, as she started a pioneering model of family resource centres in Toronto, the Children's Storefront. As Brigitte Kitchen points out in her commentary on A Fair Chance for All Children, Marvyn began to turn his attention to child and family policy issues in the mid-1980s, and especially to the issue of child poverty as he became, along with Brigitte and Christa Freiler, one of the founding members of the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG). A Fair Chance for All Children argued that provincial social assistance was "a source of humiliation" for parents and made the case for a strong federal government role in addressing the needs of families with children, just as it did with elderly people. Calling child poverty a shameful symptom of the "national neglect of children", Marvyn and his colleagues called for a National Income Program for Children that included a universal child benefit, progressive taxation, and an expanded parental leave program available to both parents.

As part of CPAG, Marvyn helped in his contribution to Unequal Futures to reframe a focus of child and family beyond strictly poverty alleviation to the structural issue of inequality. As Brigitte writes in her commentary, Unequal Futures "placed the causes and responsibility for child poverty squarely on a 'free market vision of the economy'". This in the late 1980s and early 1990s was the same period in which Marvyn was working with the Laidlaw Foundation on the Children-at-Risk Project and wrote the preface to John O'Neill's book on *The Missing Child in Liberal Theory*. Marvyn's Foreword and O'Neill's book, which O'Neill acknowledges took shape from close discussions with Marvyn and other colleagues, are scathing critiques of neo-liberalism. Several themes are developed in this theoretical frame-work very relevant to current thinking on recovering the "commons" for creating an inclusive and socially just society.

O'Neill concludes his work with a section on The Canadian Commons, which Marvyn devoted a good deal of attention to in his Foreword. Marvyn affirmed the notion that "deep layers of intergenerational responsibility and relation are at the foundation of nationhood, essential to the healthy development of children, and are recovered through an understanding of the civic commons. . . . Children in the civic commons grow up with assurances that other people care about their lives." (p. xi). The collective responsibility for our own and others' children now and, as Gilbert and Ross say in their commentary, for future generations became a consistent theme in Marvyn's thinking, which he characterized as an "ancestral and progenitorial bond of national continuity." (p. vii).

Marvyn challenged us to throw off the limited neo-liberal narrative in how we choose to talk about our world and our obligations to each other within it. As Sid Frankel says in his commentary on *Summoned to Stewardship*, an important lesson from Marvyn's writing "relates to the importance of using language in a precise and strategic manner." The term "stewardship", which Frankel draws from the Merriam-Webster Dictionary as "the careful and responsible management of something entrusted to one's care," and which Marvyn joined with "summoning" as an active call to action from a moral or ethical base, is one example. In his commentary, Bob Glossop writes that Marvyn urged our understanding "that we are bound by a covenant that rests not just on the dignity of the individual but, as Immanuel Levinas, one of Marvyn's mentors taught, on the dignity of the 'other'". Marvyn's frequent reference to a social "covenant" as a moral obligation to each other challenges us to discard the narrow and constraining neo-liberal language of economic "contracts".

And, as all the commentaries in the Children, Families and Youth section of this anthology point out, Marvyn goes beyond "constructing a counter-discourse" (Frankel) to neo-liberalism and its capture of the policy agenda in Canada and the western world. As the resulting austerity gripped governments in the last two decades of the 20th century, he was a leader in Campaign 2000 in formulating policy proposals for the well-being of children and families and ending child and family poverty.

The mid-nineties were a particularly difficult time for social programs with the federal government's introduction of the Canada Social Transfer (CST), and the end of the Canada Assistance Plan. While CPAG and Campaign 2000 had been calling for a stronger role for the federal government, the CST weakened the federal government's influence over how the provinces used transfer funds. Anita Khanna and Laurel Roth-

man described how important Marvyn's 1996 Campaign 2000 report, Crossroads for Canada, was in addressing this situation:

Amidst this tumultuous time for social programs, the main messages in Crossroads were bold and brave. When Crossroads called for increased public funding for social welfare it was one of the first, if not the first, national group to dare to move in that direction while the anti-deficit slayers continued to push loudly for more tax cuts. Crossroads stressed the importance of public funding, public policies and the intergenerational reciprocity needed to provide a healthy mix of income security measures and quality public services that would significantly reduce child and family poverty and enhance the life chances of all children. In addition, Crossroads projected the costs of substantial additional public investments and identified potential sources of funds to pay for them.

Although "deeply and bitterly disappointed" (Kitchen) that the Liberal Government favoured corporate tax cuts over family policy in the early 1990s, by the decade's end the National Child Benefit was established and was the basis for major additional reductions in Canada's child poverty rate by 2020.

Social Protection: Income Security Decent Work, and Progressive Taxation

Before neo-liberalism gripped and drove government policy in the 1980s, Marvyn was arguing that social and economic policy should not be conducted in two silos. In a 1978 paper, "Is Social Spending Productive?", Marvyn challenged the notion that social spending was not productive but a drain on a society's resources. He suspected that "resistance to public spending can be, and often is, resistance to redistribution".

Warning of the emerging leviathan, Marvyn expresses concern that the market sector is reticent to "accept the need for a balanced pattern of national development in which economic and social objectives are afforded the complementary status that is required". Commenting on this perspective, Muszynski writes, "Those of us who worked with Marvyn during those years were always inspired by his incisive arguments about how [social] spending was not only essential to a socially just form of economic development, but it was essential to economic prosperity as well."

The Reagan and Thatcher years entrenched neo-liberalism and began the serious erosion of the social welfare base that had developed since WWII. Social spending came under severe attack moving social welfare advocates to promote strategies of resistance. Such was the Declaration, A Time to Stand Together, A Time for Social Solidarity, framed by Marvyn and other community leaders in 1987, calling for community and labour solidarity for social and economic justice. In her commentary Laurell Ritchie asserts the need for cross-sectoral action for conversion to "a people-oriented economy and society that puts top priority on serving people's basic needs. "

Market-driven public policy only worsened in the 1990s with governments adopting austerity policies to control growing public deficits and debt, placing blame on escalating social spending. Leading a group of social planning colleagues in 1994, Marvyn inspired Paying for Canada, which challenged conventional thinking that social welfare spending was producing Canada's growing deficits. The report showed that severely declining public revenues from tax policy changes benefiting corporations and higher income Canadians was actually the source of the debt problem. Market ideology had infected public finances.

Again, linking the social and economic spheres, Paying for Canada framed the issue as "what kind of social security programs we want, about what kind of economy we want and what kind of public finances would bring this about." In her commentary Armine Yalnizyan called Marvyn a "thought leader" by countering the dominant market ideology that would sacrifice Canadians' social security on the false premise that it was a drain on national wealth.

The dominance of neo-liberal ideology over the last thirty years has undermined social welfare policy and forced progressive policy thinking into "social protection". Marvyn did not really concede that ground. He always maintained that governments had other options and did not accept the argument that cuts to social programs and taxes were necessary. He proposed an approach to social welfare that reflected current circumstances but would still provide the essential floor of stability and security for all while tailoring social supports to the wide diversity of conditions and circumstances of people in their everyday lives.

This was evident in the 1980s when he led the Canadian Mental Health Association's Work and Well-being Project. At a time when mental health in the workplace was primarily seen as an issue of providing supportive responses to workers who were troubled on the job (e.g. employee assistance programs), Work and Well-Being addressed itself to "a broader analysis of the structural conditions that created pressures and hardships affecting the mental health and well-being of workers." (Clutterbuck commentary). "Hence, he framed the policy issue for health and well-being in the workplace squarely on key pillars of the welfare state – income security, full employment policies, and strong public services."

Marvyn proposed that public policy be shaped from a "life-cycle" perspective, providing basic security and essential supports in adaptive ways through the stages of life from birth through early childhood and education, entry into productive working life and eventually into retirement. He proposed an "integrated income model", a mix of public and employment income that would adjust as needed for an individual's "changing relationship to the labour market over the course of their working lives (e.g. educational opportunities, familial responsibilities, community participation, re-training needs)."

Marvyn's thinking of forty years ago becomes relevant again today, of course, as the public policy discourse turns to notions of Basic or Guaranteed Income at all stages of life. Marvyn certainly felt that no one should fall below an income level that deprived them of the basic necessities of daily living including access to social and recreational opportunities. He was concerned, however, that Guaranteed or Basic Income

models reduced government commitment to full employment policies and relieved pressure on both government and the private sector to invest in decent work opportunities for all.

Reviewing "Time for a Civic Declaration on Decent Work and Basic Incomes for All", Jamie Swift notes, "As usual, Marvyn's analysis was based on a keen sense of what was happening to the working class. He took note of the growth of 'precarious employment' and the gnawing insecurity of those 'disconnected from the labour market temporarily or permanently'." While Swift is a strong advocate of Basic Income, he credits Marvyn with raising important questions to keep the policy discussion on the issue properly balanced between Basic Income's impact on the labour market and the access for all to rewarding employment opportunities.

Building a New Canada: Social Inclusion and Civic Solidarity

As neo-liberalism tightened its grip on public policy in the early 1990s, one glimmer of hope for a progressive counter-direction was the election of Ontario's first New Democratic Government in 1991. Laurie Monsebraaten's commentary reflects on Marvyn's contribution to a provincial-territorial social services ministers' conference in Toronto hosted by the new Government and chaired by Ontario's Community and Social Services Minister, Zanana Akande. In the face of a "crippling recession" the new Ontario Government indicated a commitment to "investing in affordable housing, recommitting to social assistance reform and expanding non-profit child care." The added burden of reduced transfers and devolution policies from the federal Conservative Government clearly threatened this agenda. As Monsebraaten writes, Marvyn's address to the ministers focused on "the need for federal-provincial-municipal partnerships, universal programs and a 'common mission' to tackle problems facing vulnerable families and individuals."

This was a theme that Marvyn consistently adhered to throughout the 1990s and into the New Millennium and accompanying it was the promotion of new perspectives on how to create shared inter-jurisdictional policy commitments and actions. One such concept was the notion of creating "civic solidarity" across local communities to resist the ravages of the neo-liberal agenda. Just weeks before the newly elected Harris Government in Ontario began to dismantle provincial systems for health, education and social service supports, Marvyn's address to the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto was titled "Civic Solidarity: Foundations of Social Development for the 21st Century". In her commentary on this talk, Susan McGrath writes, "Marvyn believed in civic solidarity to over-come what he called a 'dogma of privilege'." Marvyn called on community-based organizations like the "the now Social Planning Toronto and its allies to mobilize in civic solidarity . . . for the soul of our city, our province, and our country." McGrath points out that that call remains relevant to our present times as another Conservative Government committed to a privatization and anti-democratic agenda reigns in Ontario today.

"Social inclusion" was another major concept that Marvyn joined with others to advance as a joining force for progressive change entering the new century.

Leading a cross-Canada exploration for the Laidlaw Foundation on the value of adopting a social inclusion framework as the foundation for a national policy agenda, Marvyn spoke at a National Conference on A New Way of Thinking? Towards a Vision of Social Inclusion in Ottawa in 2001. He proposed a structural agenda for universal social inclusion, which consisted of:

a) Human development policies. Consistent with his thinking on personal growth and development through the life cycle, Marvyn advocated for public policy support for learning throughout the life stages and across multiple environments from formal education to arts, cultural and recreational spheres to workplace-based opportunities.

b) Civic vitality. Marvyn looked to local municipalities where people lived and were most closely connected to political decision-making as the domain for the highest probability of regenerating a civic vitality that had eroded over the previous decades. He called for "national policies of investments in infrastructures and institutions, and local practices that foster inclusive environments in neighbourhoods and public settings".

c) Living standards. Marvyn argued for concentrated energy and effort to restore and fortify a social security system seriously undermined by more than two decades of neo-liberal austerity. He writes, "A structural agenda for universal inclusion will require a return to the recognition that high quality public goods are critical contributors to collective and personal states of well-being and vitality." In a way, this thinking presaged his later attention to the notion of the social commons.

Marvyn joined the "civic solidarity" and "social inclusion" discourse in his policy advocacy and strategic thinking on social development in the remaining years of his life. Recognizing the limitations of bilateral vertical relationships between the municipal-provincial-federal jurisdictions to effect sustainable progressive policy change, he remained committed to promoting civic solidarity within the community and municipal sector and promoted the building of strong horizontal relationships of shared commitment and support across communities. The idea was that cross-community and even cross-Canada voices of support for inclusion and equity would have greater impact on policy-making and political decision-making at senior levels of government. Indeed, that approach had demonstrated impact on the federal government introducing the National Child Benefit in 1998 after years of cross-Canada organizing and reporting on child poverty levels locally, provincially and nationally by Campaign 2000.

Marvyn worked in a similar way with the Social Planning Network of Ontario and the 25 in 5 Network for Poverty Reduction in 2008-09, mobilizing local support for a shared policy agenda in more than 25 communities across Ontario to influence the Ontario Government to pass its Poverty Reduction Plan.

Joey Edwardh describes how this cross-community approach worked in the Inclusive Cities Canada initiative (2003-2005) when Marvyn and his associates conducted "eleven community soundings funded and organized by the Laidlaw Foundation in urban regions across Canada [which] brought together civic leaders, agency professionals, and social advocates committed to building and sustaining inclusive communities."

These soundings led to a series of civic panels "from diverse civic sectors and cultural backgrounds" and "co-chaired by a senior municipal official and a senior community leader . . . The panels demonstrated that civic leaders from different regions of Canada shared many common concerns and proposed a wide range of complementary priorities."

Not only did this approach fortify local understanding of and commitment to policies of inclusion and equity but Edwardh reinforces that they also served as "an example of local democratic practice, where ideas and experiences converge, generating shared knowledge and strategies for change." Marvyn saw this cross-Canada network-building approach "as a vehicle for joint municipal and community input into the development of social infrastructure policies and practices which address vulnerability and diversity in large and small municipalities." He continued, "creating horizontal networks across communities with hubs outside of Ottawa. . . would ground national perspectives in daily community life, and ensure that work at the local civic level was recognized as having national significance."

Conclusion: What We Can Learn From Marvyn Novick

"*Those who are missed the most are those who have brought hope into our lives*", wrote Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, the former chief rabbi of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. In the conclusion to his 2005 book, *To Heal a Fractured World, The Ethics of Responsibility*, he identified this as one of the important lessons he learned throughout his life.

This quote calls to mind the ways in which Marvyn brought hope into the lives of his students, his colleagues, the local communities he worked with, and the broader social policy community. As one commentator wrote: "*Summoned to Stewardship* was a beacon of hope that was broadly discussed among those interested in poverty reduction. It set out an alternate view that could sustain us through these dark times" (Frankel).

Marvyn's legacy to us are those very things that brought him hope and sustained him through "dark times", namely:

Resisting cynicism

Cynicism never seemed to be an option for Marvyn despite setbacks and disappointment in the slow pace of progress, the attacks on the dignity of vulnerable people, and the recurring waves of austerity and neoliberalism. He could be angry, even outraged, but never cynical. He likely would have agreed with the observation that "cynicism diminishes those who practise it" (Sacks, 2005).

Opening one's heart to people's lives and lived experiences

"The achievements we struggle for must be anchored in people's lives; they must touch the intimate worlds of the people we want to reach", Marvyn wrote in preparation for a 1998 roundtable on family policy. In her reflection, Gillian Novick commented on her dad's perspective on the interaction of policy and family life which was influenced by her mother Ryva's work with The Children's Storefront, the first family resource centre in Canada.

When he was working on ideas about policies that would impact family life, he was also hearing real, local and lived experiences of the people who were affected by the policies and services. This affected him deeply and in every part of his work… Families, people on social assistance and others in economically insecure positions needed the same sense of security and dignity as his own family, so that we all can feel secure, do our best, contribute and flourish.

Focusing on what people have in common

Marvyn's lifelong commitment to solidarity, universality, social inclusion and, later, the social commons were all reflections of his undying belief in the power and strength of people's common humanity. He was attracted to the concept of social inclusion because "inclusion asks us to look at how we connect with others, how we share with others. It requires us not to dispense with differences but asks us how differences can be accommodated within commonalities". Marvyn recognized that divisions arise "where people want to deal with the violations they've experienced: misogyny, homophobia, racism…" but argued that "if it stays there, we miss … that at some point, outrages have to become transformative agendas for social change" (Ish Theilheimer commentary).

A vision of a better future

Throughout much of his decades-long career, Marvyn found the social policy climate to be defensive and timid. His antidote was to articulate a vision of a better future and to put forward bold policy proposals that operationalized that vision. He maintained that Canadians and the social policy community, in particular, should not accept the inevitabilities of the global dynamic of neoliberalism and austerity. He consistently argued that national options **do** exist even when we are told by governments that they have no options. Marvyn contended that arguing against this opens up a "moral space" where a vision of a better future can flourish. He reminded us that "our advocacy must be to ensure transformational change and to resist anything else" (Khanna and Rothman).

Finally, Marvyn brought hope through his capacity to move people. Although not loved equally by all students, Marvyn had a lasting impact on those who were open to what he had to say. It is fitting, therefore, that we conclude with the words of three students from his Toronto Metropolitan University social policy class:

He made me realize that I was in the right program, the only professor to do so in my Ryerson (sic) career. Awesome prof!

THIS GUY IS BRILLIANT! He has an amazing mind and a ton of experience...He has taught me so much about life and responsibility of caring for others through social policy!

Marvyn Novick is brilliant, kind, radical, progressive and very, very wise. He taught me things I think about and draw on every single day. He is approachable and caring despite a rough exterior. He is almost too good for this world … but we need him!!!

In 2007, Marvyn Novick was made a lifelong member of the Social Planning Network of Ontario for his work on the Poverty Free Ontario campaign. From left: Linda Terry, Peter Clutterbuck, Janet Gasparini, Marvyn Novick, Joey Edwardh, John Campey, and Trudy Beaulne.

Peter Clutterbuck is a long-time friend and colleague of Marvyn Novick in the social planning movement.

Christa Freiler is a friend and colleague who worked with Marvyn on initiatives related to child poverty and family policy, suburbs and neighbourhoods, and inclusive cities.

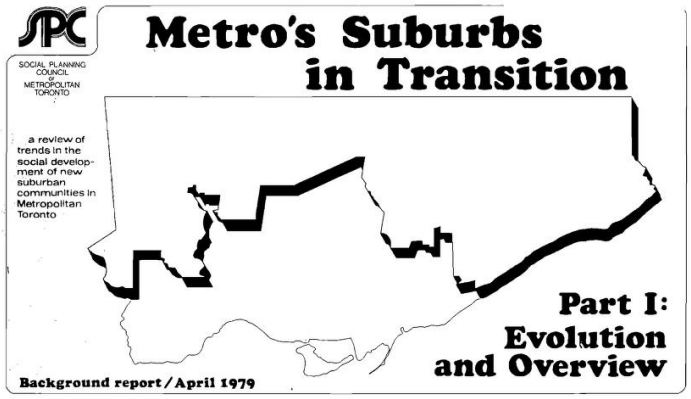
Cities, Community Services and Civic Alliances

Metro's Suburbs In Transition: Parts I And II (1979, 1980)

Commentary by: David Hulchanski

Metro Suburbs in Transition (MSIT), a major three-year social planning assessment of Toronto carried out in the late 1970s was the first to recognize, document, and make recommendations about the changing nature of postwar suburban neighbourhoods in the city. In two volumes Marvyn Novick, a Senior Program Director at the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT), provided "a review of trends in the social development of new suburban communities in Metropolitan Toronto."

The MSIT reports were the first to thoroughly document and analyze the dramatic social transition taking place in Toronto's rapidly growing postwar middle-class suburbs. "The era of suburban and metropolitan innocence in Toronto is over" Marvyn wrote in 1979. It was not simply a municipal level problem. Toronto, the research argues from the start, "has been consistently frustrated by Queen's Park and Ottawa in its attempts to provide integrated urban policy leadership in areas of critical interest to Metro residents."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SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL METROPOLITAN TORONTO
Metro's Suburbs in Transition
a review of trends in the social development of new suburban communities in Metropolitan Toronto
Part I: Evolution and Overview
Background report / April 1979

Metro's Suburbs in Transition

The first MSIT volume, subtitled *Evolution and Overview*, published in 1979 was 300 pages, with 65 maps (long before computerized GIS), 37 figures, and 24 tables. It made the case for a "renewed metropolitan perspective" on what was happening in the postwar suburbs. The typical suburban family of the 1950s and 1960s is no longer: "father in the labour force, mother at home full-time, ownership of a ground level home with private open space, two to four children, homogeneous neighbours." There were more diverse family types in the suburbs, fewer were able to independently secure social supports when needed, the economy was no longer generating secure employment and rising incomes, and much more transit was needed.

Relying mainly on the 1976 census, Marvyn and his small group of assistants and

an impressive advisory committee documented in great detail for the first time the growing mismatch between the physical environment and the social structure of the suburban population. The postwar physical design of Scarborough, parts of North York, and the northern half of Etobicoke, are very different from that of pre-WWII Toronto. "Physical environments," Marvyn noted, "reflect, support, or accommodate prevailing social, economic, and political realities." The analysis confirmed that the image of urban life in metropolitan Toronto, "with clear social distinctions between the City and the suburbs…no longer correspond to the social realities of what exists today or to the conditions which will have to be faced in the coming decade."

Marvyn Novick, Anella Parker, Professor John Gandy, Susan Kee

The second MSIT volume, a *Planning Agenda for the Eighties*, published in 1980 focused on what to do, a policy and program response. This was only 270 pages, 40 figures, and 29 tables, with 65 recommendations.

What should be done? To start, "the passivity and drift of the seventies" needs to be reversed. The municipalities of Scarborough, North York, and Etobicoke need to engage in social and community planning and need to provide essential social services. They need a family housing strategy, major financing for new neighbourhood voluntary agencies, and more inclusive zoning for "fair share distributions of group homes, crisis accommodation facilities, and day care centres." In short, the suburban municipalities within Metropolitan Toronto need to adapt to the new conditions with appropriate social policies and programs for households with special needs, crisis accommodation facilities for women and children, community services for troubled youth, home support for seniors, affordable recreation programs, and more. The social and economic realities that produced the sprawling automobile dependent physical pattern of the suburbs required effective social planning in addition to much better physical land use planning.

When the MSIT reports were published many members of the Metro council and the municipal councils, and provincial cabinet ministers, were defensive and some were highly critical, considering it an attack on their policies, which it was. The head of Metro Toronto's government, Paul Godfrey, set up a committee to review the report without benefit of public meetings. Municipalities took the report more seriously. The chair of the Scarborough committee, for example, stated "the report was a real eye opener. It showed us we really hadn't been planning for the future." That committee's report highlighted the "lack of any recognized centre of public responsibility for social development needs" together with the fragmentary nature of funding of social ser-

vices.[1]

Metro's Suburbs in Transition was prepared during a period of high-inflation, persistently high-unemployment, and weak economic growth, in the political context of a rising neoliberal market perspective in Ontario that reduced the priority placed on planning and social support. In contrast, the report called for the opposite, the development of a new network of services and facilities at the community level to address the changing social needs. The "critical factors" include: profound shifts in family structure; changing roles of women; the presence in the suburbs of a continuity of family life—large numbers of youth, and a growing elderly population; the ethno-cultural diversity of recent immigrants to Metro; and a relatively uniform suburban housing stock and land use pattern. The Metro government response was that the trends are not as dramatic or as bad as the SPCMT claims and that all that is needed are some minor changes in the allocation of resources.

A 1983 follow-up to MSIT, *Neighbourhoods Under Stress*, a task force chaired by Marvyn, resulted in new core funding for neighbourhood agencies, jointly sponsored by the Metro Toronto government, the provincial government, and United Way of Greater Toronto.[2] This Community and Neighbourhood Supports Services Program was the core of a neighbourhood-based model that eventually led to the designation of Priority Neighbourhoods in the inner suburbs, now known as Neighbourhood Improvement Areas.

It took about two decades, however, before more attention began to be paid to the worsening trends first identified by the two MSIT reports. In 2002 the United Way's *A Decade of Decline: Poverty and Income Inequality in the City of Toronto in the 1990s* provided an analysis of the changes in the financial wellbeing of Torontonians based on household income, the rate of poverty, the depth of poverty, the income gap between high and low-income households, and the geographic segregation of poverty.

In 2004 another United Way report, acknowledging it was based on the Metro's Suburbs in Transition research, attracted a great deal of attention. It documented the dramatic growth in the socio-spatial division of the city. There were not only growing rates of poverty in the midst of prosperity but a growing gap in the socio-economic and ethno-racial composition of neighbourhoods. In *Poverty by Postal Code: The Geography of Neighbourhood Poverty, City of Toronto, 1981 – 2001*, the United Way referred to the analysis in MSIT which "predicted that inaction could ultimately lead to the flight of the middle classes, as had happened in American cities. Now, a quarter of a century later, it is important to look at how the poverty levels as well as other socio-economic characteristics have changed in the inner suburbs."[3]

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1 Special Committee of Scarborough Council, "Scarborough Community Services Project: Report on the Metro Social Planning Council Report "Metro Suburbs in Transition'," editor, Dave Hawkins, Borough of Scarborough, 1979.

2 *Neighbourhoods Under Stress*, by the Joint Task Force on Neighborhood Support Services, Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1983.

3 *Poverty by Postal Code: The Geography of Neighbourhood Poverty, City of Toronto, 1981 – 2001*,

What we now know is that it is not an American style "flight of the middle class" but the absolute decline in the share of middle-income jobs, middle-income households, and as a result, middle-income neighbourhoods. It is a dramatic increase in income inequality creating greater socio-spatial polarization.

The initial postwar decades were a period of growth in the share of middle-income households in Canada, and thus in Toronto. The two MSIT reports do not use the words inequality or polarization with respect to income because both were still trending in the right direction during the 1970s. The measurable change took place in the late 1980s and in particular during the 1990s with Finance Minister Paul Martin's major social program cuts, cuts in transfers to the provinces, and massive individual and corporate income tax cuts.

In 2007, and then an updated version in 2010, *The Three Cities Within Toronto: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970–2005* was published by the urban centre at the University of Toronto.[4] As MSIT had warned, it documented how low-income neighbourhoods were more numerous and increasingly concentrated in the postwar suburbs. In the 1970s, when most of the city's low-income neighbourhoods were in the inner city, low-income households had good access to transit and social and community services. The area referred to as 'City #3' in the Three Cities report are census tracts that are going down in socio-economic status. All of the City's 2005 Priority Neighbourhoods and most of its current Neighbourhood Improvement areas are in City #3. The focus of MSIT was Toronto's 'rapid growth suburbs.' As of the 2016 census 89% of the City #3 census tracts are in the MSIT's rapid growth suburbs.[5]

It is now forty years since the MSIT research. We know Marvyn Novick's assessment of trends was correct. We will not know how correct his recommendations were. Most, but not all, were ignored by all three levels of government in the emerging neoliberal age of public policies focused on austerity, deregulation and tax cuts. One of MSIT's legacies is highlighting the importance of social planning and social policies. Another, as demonstrated in the many related follow-up studies, was to demonstrate the importance of doing, and how to do, research on social trends and then frame policy responses for a dynamic and rapidly changing metropolitan area.

In the 1980 MSIT planning agenda, Marvyn warned that if trends were allowed to continue: "Metro could slowly drift into the fortress community, typical of established U.S. cities, in which the powerful guard what they have as parts of the surrounding

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by United Way of Greater Toronto and the Canadian Council on Social Development, Toronto: United Way of Greater Toronto, April 2004, p.25.

4 *The Three Cities Within Toronto: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970–2005*, by J. David Hulchanski, Toronto: University of Toronto, Cities Centre, 2010.

5 *The Three Cities Within Toronto* report was updated in 2017: *The Opportunity Equation in the Greater Toronto Area: An Update on Neighbourhood Income Inequality and Polarization*, Toronto: United Way Toronto & York Region and the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, University of Toronto, November 2017.

urban fabric crumble into despair and disarray." He added, "This has not been the tradition of Toronto, nor is it the evident will of Metro's people."

In the most recent assessments of Toronto's social trends, such as the Toronto Foundation's Vital Signs reports, we are regrettably reading what the MSIT warned us about if social planning and inclusive public policies and fair taxation were ignored.

- Vital Signs 2017/2018: "The patterns of poverty continue to reflect the worrying divide that faces our city, with far more people living with low incomes in the inner suburbs than in the city's core."
- Vital Signs 2019/2020: "Dividing lines are growing. The experience of life in the city for newcomers, young people, and racialized groups is markedly — and increasingly — more challenging than for White, long-time residents. Widening gaps in income and wealth, and neighbourhood disparities are reshaping the city."

The polarization of the city need not continue. It is not inevitable. The jurisdiction and financial capacity of the federal and provincial governments are sufficient to reverse the trend. A wealthy nation can use its resources to make a difference. But that is not happening yet.

In a December 2014 email Marvyn told me that he had just reviewed "in greater detail" both of his MSIT reports in preparation for an interview with a reporter. In view of how extreme the socio-economic, spatial, and racial divides had grown as documented in the "excellent three cities work in updating and enhancing the MSIT themes," he wrote "I was struck by how successful the ideologues had been in imposing their structural agenda on the policy climate of Ontario."

In the email Marvyn then cited the following four sentences from his MSIT's 570 pages. He noted that these four sentences, written in 1980, help explain why his and the SPCMT's warnings were and sadly are still being ignored.

"In our judgement, neo-market views which have come to predominate in Ontario, reflect an impoverished sense of economic history. They fail to understand the inherent relationship between public investments in education, health, urban development, welfare, transportation, defence, communications — and industrial wealth formation. They are insensitive to productive forms of partnership among government, labour, and industry in more successful post-war economies. They create unnecessary and therefore unacceptable levels of inequity for the weak and dependent in bearing the burdens of renewal."[6]

David Hulchanski is Professor of housing and community development at the University of Toronto and was a colleague of Marvyn Novick.

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6 *Metro Suburbs in Transition: Planning Agenda for the Eighties*, 1980, p.57.

Metro's Suburbs in Transition:

A review of trends in the social development of new suburban communities in Metropolitan Toronto

Part I: Evolution and Overview

R. Marvyn Novick, Senior Program Director, Author and Project Director

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, April 1979

Chairman, Project Committee: Dr. John Gandy, Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto

Project Associates: Anella Parker, Program Director; Susan Kee, Planner

Selected excerpts from the introduction and conclusion,
by J David Hulchanski, Faculty of Social Work University of Toronto

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1. Project Background

During the past twenty-five years, important changes have taken place in the social development of Metropolitan Toronto. This has been a period of sustained population growth accompanied by extensive and varied forms of physical development. The framework of local government was significantly restructured in the fifties through the introduction of metropolitan government. This change formalized, and in turn helped shape, the transformation of Toronto from a city with peripheral settlements into an urban region with a number of consolidated and expanded municipalities. Some of these new municipalities now exceed the physical size of the City. Their individual and/or combined populations have politically overshadowed the traditional concentrations in the City.

While the unique identity of the City remains, even as it has undergone significant transformation, the scale of the City's dominance of Metro has been modified. The City has become one area in a diverse yet increasingly integrated Toronto urban region which now stretches over the political boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto.

The constituent areas of the Toronto urban region include:

(a) the central urban area consisting of the City of Toronto, and earlier peripheral settlements which were linked to the City through the development out from the centre of street railways and reproduce in large measure the compact urban form of the City.

(b) the post-war rapid growth suburbs of Metropolitan Toronto, which followed the contours of regional automobile corridors but did not reproduce the compact urban forms of the centre. [p.1]

(c) rapid growth suburbs of the late sixties and seventies located in those areas of the urban region outside the political boundaries of Metropolitan Toronto.

(d) an emerging semi-rural fringe in which there are scattered settlements within and around smaller towns and villages. [p.2]

> One important outgrowth of this period has been the recognition that the City is diverse, with diverse neighbourhoods, households, and cultures. It is no longer possible to think of the City in traditionally simple images: affluent, poor, "families", singles. We now recognize that there are a variety of ages, life situations, cultural backgrounds, local histories, unique neighbourhoods which make up the City. We also recognize that people have diverse as well as conman social needs in the City. Policies and programs have emerged – from both public and voluntary sources – which acknowledge the needs of the elderly, immigrants, parents, young children, tenants, non-smokers, the handicapped, women in crisis, youth and adults in need of residential services, the unemployed, the transient, discharged mental health patients, and so forth. [p.4]
>
> A renewed metropolitan perspective, with which to face the unique challenges of the eighties, can only emerge when all parts of Metro are understood and respected for what is common and unique within each. Political and policy differences in Metro will inevitably arise. The expectation is that differences within Metro will focus on substantive issues which relate to the daily lives of people – jobs, taxes, housing, transit, community services – rather than perpetuate the rituals of symbolic differences. Sharp differences have emerged primarily over land-use and transportation policy issues. In this debate, the newer suburbs of Metro have come to be portrayed as antagonistic to City concerns. By implication there has been the assumption that differences exist because the social and economic interests of suburban residents are homogeneous, and differ from those of City residents. [p.5]
>
> Metropolitan Toronto has been consistently frustrated by Queen's Park and Ottawa in its attempts to provide integrated urban policy leadership in areas of critical interest to Metro residents. Jurisdictional bickering and financial issues have plagued efforts by Metro to develop an urgently needed community employment strategy for the jobless men and women of Metro. Both Peel (on October 24, 1977) and Metro (on November 30, 1977) were officially informed by the Ministry of Housing that social objectives could not be included in official urban plans.
>
> Provincial reticence to confer upon Metro an urban policy framework and mandate has been accompanied by the introduction of cutbacks in essential programs, the transfer of financial burdens to the property tax, and the refusal to allow Metro access to a1ternative revenue sources in order to provide and sustain needed services in the community.
>
> The insensitivity of the province to the needs of Metro and other municipalities in Ontario, combined with traditional divisions within Metro between City and suburbs, have limited the capa-

bility of Metro to plan and secure its own future. [p.8]

11. Conclusions

The era of suburban and metropolitan innocence in Toronto is over. Stable post-war images of urban life in Metro, with clear social distinctions between the City and the suburbs, and the belief that Metro would sustain continued population growth into the indefinite future, no longer correspond to the social realities of what exists today or to the conditions which will have to be faced in the coming decade.

The post-war period of rapid growth in Metro was unprecedented. It was a transitional stage in the development of Metro. It is now clear that by 1971 rapid growth had come to an end in most of Metro's suburban districts. Some pockets of growth remained, primarily in the north-west parts of Metro. In this same period, serious population decline began to take place in the central urban area.

We lived through the seventies in Metro with post-war images, even when the social realities to sustain these images had already changed. Throughout later periods of rapid population growth, important changes were taking place in the social development of the suburbs. These changes were less readily visible or evident in the way that new apartment buildings, plazas, roads, confer immediate and visible evidence of transformation. The process of social transition is never sudden. Perceptions generally lag considerably; particularly where new social realities are involved. As changes persist a vague sense begins to emerge that something different might exist. But there is uncertainty over how significant or extensive changes might be. Even as scattered forms of data and information begin to surface, they confirm the vague sense that change has occurred, but they do not necessarily identify the point at which many important changes transform what was once familiar in another form and at another time into a new set of realities.

The post-war suburbs had a sense of their own social uniqueness. They made available to large numbers of average income families alternative environments in which to raise younger children. They were the first human settlements in the evolution of urban civilization with explicit adult commitments of both men and women to child welfare as a primary source of community identity. The emphasis on parenting and child development was reflected [p.233] in the physical environments which were created and the services that were developed. The essential physical framework was the home, the neighbourhood, and the local elementary school. The essential social framework was a stable family structure with highly specialized roles for men and women, an ability to independently secure social supports when required, and a growth economy in which there were prospects for secure employment, rising incomes and stable prices.

As long as the social and economic assumptions remained intact, the physical integrity of the post-war suburbs could be preserved and reproduced. Physical environments do not have a life of their own. They reflect, support, or accommodate to prevailing social, economic, and political realities. If these realities change, the conditions upon which the forms of the physical environment depend also change.

In the early post-war period of rapid growth, Metro's suburbs were open environments. The classic neighbourhood was accessible to significant numbers of families with young children. The forms of the physical environment were not imposed, but reflected the dominant interest and aspirations of average Canadian families.

There was a sense of collective history in the suburban settlement experience of the post-war period;

of families at similar stages of development, of somewhat similar composition, in which there were common and accepted social roles for men and women. The-shared history of this period was reflected in popular images which described suburban social realities of the time. These images incorporated elements of aspiration and attainment symbolized by these environments. It was through these images that post-war suburban life was largely understood. Whether the prototype images were ever accurate statistically is not necessarily significant. The images served to shape the dominant perceptions of residents and non-residents alike, and became the critical foundations for the exercise of social judgements with respect to who really belonged in these environments, who was in fact there, what were social needs, how public dollars should be allocated, which public functions were "not in keeping with the *desirable* land use characteristics of the community." [p.234]

The social development patterns reviewed in this report suggest that important social transformations have taken place in the post-war suburbs of Metro. These environments now include significant groups of people across the entire human life span, in a diversity of family and individual life situations. There are pressing social needs requiring appropriate forms of community support. Social and economic conditions have changed considerably, particularly with respect to the forms of suburban family life. There has been a rapid decline in childbearing by women. The "baby boom" of the post-war period has given way to the "baby bust" of the seventies. There are fewer young children in the suburbs. The cost of suburban family housing is out of reach of average income families. Many mothers are in the labour force as primary contributors to the income needs of their families. The time span of active childrearing by family adults has been reduced considerably. Family adults have other needs which require support even as they rear young children - employment, mobility, social contact, continuing education. [p.235]

The post-war suburbs assumed one set of family conditions for child-rearing, and the physical environment incorporated these assumptions. The prototype suburban family – father in the labour force, mother at home full-time, ownership of a ground level home with private open space, two to four children, homogeneous neighbours – is no longer the dominant reality of suburban life in the seventies. It is now an image that belongs to the social history of the post-war period of rapid growth.

What do we have instead? The post-war suburbs always included families and individuals whose life situations did not correspond to the prototype perceptions. But they were seen as exceptions to the general trend. Public frameworks of response which developed in suburban municipalities in the post-war period, were not particularly sensitive to the special needs of dependent social minorities. The exceptions to the prototype image started to increase. Social changes have come from within – youth, aging adults, family separation, women in the labour force, mothers with grown children, unemployment – as they have come from without, in the varied backgrounds of new settlers in the last decade. The traditional suburban neighbourhood may remain physically intact, but it is no longer the same social environment as in earlier days. Within it, around it, at the periphery, in local schools, in neighbourhoods nearby, are the visible signs of social transformation. The exceptions have continued to grow. There reaches a stage when the scale of the exceptions can no longer be ignored for they have in fact become an integral part of the community. Each of the exceptions may be a social minority in relation to established earlier settlers. Nevertheless, we would conclude that the social minorities taken as a whole now constitute new social majority in Metro's post-war suburbs.

Who is the new social majority in relation to the homogeneous image of the post-war years. These include:

- women in the labour force, contributing to family incomes or maintaining their own households

with or without children;

- pre-school children whose mothers are in the labour force in need of group care or various forms of home care;
- increasing numbers of children in suburban schools with special social and learning needs, even as elementary enrolment declines; [p.236]
- women at home alone, full time, with few supports, raising children on deprivation incomes;
- increasing numbers of elderly, including isolated and dependent aged, in need of home support and community services;
- tenants, primarily in apartment residences, protected temporarily with rent review legislation;
- recent immigrants, adults and children, from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, many in states of difficult adjustment and without traditional forms of support;
- large numbers of youth and young adults (under age 25) at varying stages of independence, with significant numbers unemployed;
- unemployed adult men and women (over age 25) with or without family responsibilities;
- households without an automobile, or with one automobile, whose residents are transit dependent;
- divorced or separated household heads, without children, alone or in adult relationships;
- families with younger children, living in apartments, unable to afford the transition to a low rise or ground level family home within Metro's suburbs.

These of course are not mutually exclusive categories. Numbers of families and individuals would be included in two, three, or more of these conditions or situations. Nevertheless, this report would conclude that the aggregate numbers of persons in Metro's rapid growth suburbs who are living in situations, or experiencing the conditions described above, are the new social majority of these environments.

The message which emerges from this report is not an appeal for compassion for the needs of dependent social minorities, as might have been the case during earlier post-war suburban periods. It is a call for responsible public frameworks of policy, planning, and service provision which will address and respond to the special needs of the new social majority. [p.237]

This report would further conclude that land-use frameworks of understanding urban life in Metro, reflected in City and suburban political designations, no longer accurately convey the increasingly common patterns of social development and need which now exist in both the post-war suburbs and the central urban areas of Metro. ***We have become a metropolitan city with a range of urbanized municipalities and districts.*** As a metropolitan city we exhibit the historical, social, and cultural diversity of any city – some areas are older, others are of more recent origins. ***There is as much social and cultural diversity within existing suburban municipalities, as there might have been between these municipalities and the central area in earlier years.*** More significant however, there are important sets of social needs and urban policy interests that cut across municipal boundaries in Metro, for which there is no political framework at present to directly reflect these realities. [emphasis in the original] [p.238]

The purpose of this report is … to identify major areas for community review and discussion. The

following areas are important to note:

a) there is the critical need to address the process of suburban planning so that it works with and reflects the diverse social interests of the municipality;

b) local centres of voluntary service and activity are required, primarily in high need suburban areas, to fill in service gaps, involve local residents in planning for social needs, and promote a sense of belonging and social participation for groups whose needs are not reflected in existing community associations;

c) the social and economic assumptions underlying current zoning policies should be addressed, in light of new family patterns, the needs of the elderly, and the social rights of dependent groups for noninstitutional forms of residential living;

d) the role of municipally operated community centres needs to be reviewed to assess how they might become centres of multi-purpose support in the community;

e) funders and services should be sensitive to the distributions of needs that exist in Metro's suburbs in their allocations. There are important gaps to [p.240] be addressed at present: outreach services to youth, child care and parenting support to solitary parents, temporary hostels, centres of multi-cultural identity and activity, home support for the elderly, information programs with multi-lingual capabilities.

These are only illustrations of unaddressed needs. The real need is to develop the suburban capability in local areas and at the municipal level to identify and respond to existing and emerging forms of need.

The seventies have been a major turning point in the development of Metro. It is only at the end of the decade that we are coming to realize the kind of changes we were living through from the beginning. The realities which we are facing are somewhat different from the perceptions which were held in the early seventies. The forces shaping these changes have not sprung up on us suddenly; they were there to be seen in the early seventies, but we were looking at other things. The social changes in Metro's suburbs reflect the maturing of the post-war environment, and the influence of societal forces on local development patterns.

In existing and future areas of urban concern, the fate of Metro's post-war suburbs and the central urban area are linked closely together. [p.244]

If high levels of unemployment persist or grow worse in the suburbs and Metro, serious instability and self-destructive behaviour will increase. Given the absence of developed states of social integration in Metro's suburbs, instability could take the form of inter-group incidents based on age, culture, or race.

From a suburban perspective, the eighties will bring new urban conditions to be faced in common with residents of the central area. The ability to face these conditions effectively requires a conscious commitment to acknowledge and address the present crisis of unmet human needs in the suburbs. The changes which have taken place cannot be reduced to any one cause, such as the presence of suburban public housing. The changes go much deeper and therefore the responses will have to be more serious. [p.248]

Online access to Part I: https://archive.org/details/metros-suburbs-in-transition-evolution-social-planning-toronto-1979

Planning Agenda for the Eighties

Part II: Metro's Suburbs in Transition, Policy Report

R. Marvyn Novick, Senior Program Director, Author and Project Director

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, September 1980

Chairman, Project Committee: Frank O'Donnell, Executive Member, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto
Project Associates: Susan Kee, Planner; Roxina Saari, Graphics, and Program Secretary

Selected excerpt: full text of the "Recommendations Summary"
J David Hulchanski, Faculty of Social Work University of Toronto

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Recommendations Summary

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto is calling for dramatic shifts in public priorities and planning to re-build Metro's suburbs for what they were originally intended to be, a place for family living.

The suburbs now contain 50% of all inner-city students in Metro's schools, most of Metro's families with both parents in the labour force, high numbers of single parent families, significant groups of unemployed and alienated youth, and a multitude of cultures and races. The absence of urgently needed help for the diverse needs of suburban families is a deep source of concern. Severe spending cutbacks by the Ontario government have delayed the introduction of pre-school day care, school programs for children with special needs, multi-service centres to help families with many problems, neighbourhood agencies for outreach to isolated groups, counselling for immigrant families, community services for troubled youth, child-parent centres, afterhours and crisis support, and affordable recreation programs for children of poor families.

In this policy report, Planning Agenda for the Eighties (Part II: Metro Suburbs in Transition), the Social Planning Council spells out new directions for suburban adaptation and metropolitan renewal.

During the past year, new planning efforts have started in the suburbs and at Metro. Scarborough,

North York, and Etobicoke now have special committees looking at social needs in their municipalities. Metro is working on an economic strategy, examining housing needs, responding to racial tensions, promoting co-ordinated planning for social programs, and developing multi-year day care objectives. However, without consistent policy leadership from Metro Council, ongoing planning for social needs in the suburbs, and new social priorities at Queen's Park to finance needed suburban programs, Metro faces a decade of social stagnation and population decline.

Restrictive land use practices promoted by local groups in Metro throughout the seventies, have limited the availability of family housing, crisis community services, and densities necessary to support public transit services in the suburbs. Without suitable housing choices and appropriate support programs, families will continue to leave Metro, and Metro's population will decline as projected. With fewer people in Metro, the cost of maintaining public services will increase. significantly.

There is already evidence of cost intensification patterns in Metro for major public services. During the seventies, Metro's population remained relatively fixed at approximately 2.1 million people. Nevertheless, per capita costs in 1971 dollars for police services grew by 84%, and for public transit subsidies by 69%.

The Social Planning Council report calls for government to assume once more a leadership role to address economic and social needs, and thereby reverse the passivity and drift of the seventies. Ontario needs responsible public spending policies to generate new economic productivity, and to respond to pressing human needs. (R:3.1; R:3.3) [Denotes recommendation numbers in the report.] Within Metro, integrated planning for land use and service provision should take place at both levels of local government, in partnership with the private sector, community agencies, and public interest groups. These are the essential principles upon which the Council's recommendations rest.

At the Metro level policy leadership is recommended in the following areas:

- That Metro Council convene a task force to develop a family housing strategy for Metro as a first priority of planning. (R:6.1)
- That Metro Council provide major financing for up to twenty new neighbourhood voluntary agencies in the suburbs (R:6.3), develop a network of community social service programs for high risk groups (R:4.1), co-ordinate the development of a planning system for human services in Metro (R:2.5), work with municipalities to establish multi-service programs (R:6.6), and establish with boards of education a central youth resource centre in each suburban municipality (R:7.10).
- That Metroplan be amended to include land use policies which increase densities across Metro – medium densities in residential areas; higher densities along transportation corridors and in re-developed commercial centres. (R:2.2)
- That Metroplan be amended to end exclusionary zoning in Metro municipalities (R:2.3), and to promote fair share distributions of group homes, crisis accommodation facilities, and day care centres. (R:7.1)
- That Metro Council and the Toronto Transit Commission (T.T.C.) formulate proposals for a major east-west public transit capacity north of Highway 401 (R:6.2), and that the T.T.C. consider operating scheduled neighbourhood shuttle services in suburban communities where people have difficulties connecting to local resources. (R:6.9)
- That both Metro school boards each document the range of special needs of students in their schools and prepare a financial projection for meeting these needs. (R:4.4)

In Metro's suburban municipalities, ongoing planning for social needs is required in the following areas:

- That suburban councils and boards of education recognize their joint responsibility to plan together for social needs, and establish in each municipality a Municipal Liaison Board for Human Services (R:5.3), to review annually social spending, monitor trends in needs, propose allocation priorities, (R:5.6), develop joint projects between community agencies, and improve the use of existing community facilities. (R:5.7)
- That suburban municipal councils establish standing committees of council to review and recommends social policies and programs for their municipalities (R:5.1), and set up municipal committees for race relations. (R:7.21) That suburban councils incorporate explicit social objectives and procedures into land use planning (R:1.2), and prepare a major review of social conditions in their municipalities subsequent to the 1981 Census. (R:5.8)
- That suburban councils institute proportionate wards by 1982 to ensure fair representation of all social groups in their municipalities. (R:8.1)
- That Etobicoke and Scarborough boards of education initiate special needs studies (R:7.6), and that all three suburban boards establish standing committees on multi-culturalism (R:7.19), and increase their numbers of school-community workers to involve parents in the schools. (R:7.7)
- That multiple uses be introduced into suburban school, recreation, library, and church facilities and spaces, to provide alternative places to commercial plazas for social contact and casual activity (R:6.7); this would include amenities such as indoor eating and conversation areas; convenience and specialty outlets; activity lounges; compact parks, garden allotments, tot lots, outdoor information and performance areas.
- That suburban education boards and planning boards conduct a joint review to preserve neighbourhood uses of surplus school sites and facilities (R:6.8); that Separate School use of surplus schools is a priority neighbourhood use.
- That suburban recreation departments develop new neighbourhood programs to build up local community associations (R:6.10), ensure that affordable athletic and cultural programs are available to children and youth from poor families (R:7.12), and that each community has sufficient recreation facilities for casual activities. (R:7.13)
- Because suburban libraries will become important community centres for information, self-directed learning, and support in the eighties, that suburban libraries conduct a major review to re-assess service objectives and strategies developed in the early sixties. (R:6.11)
- That crisis accommodation facilities for women, children, and youth be established in each suburban municipality. (R:7.8; R:7.14)
- That community agencies establish new career opportunities for senior adults voluntary service with honorariums – to draw upon the diverse experience and backgrounds which seniors can offer the community. (R:7.23)

The provincial government must establish new social priorities to address social needs in the community. The Social Planning Council report notes that:

> Provincial statements which affirm prevention as a central children's services objective, and cite the family as the essential unit of society, are not backed up with programs and resources. There

is an unwillingness to invest in children during critical periods of their development." (p.185)

In 1980, Ontario spending on social needs will be second lowest of all provinces in Canada. The Council calls for a re-assessment of Ontario spending policies. It notes that cutbacks have reduced our ability to deal with urgent social needs in the suburbs and Metro, and have not served to address serious structural problems in the Ontario economy.

Responsible levels of social spending are required from the provincial government to:

- finance 1,750 new subsidized day care spaces for pre-school children for each of five years, at a net cost to the province of $1.7 million in year one. (R:7.3)
- increase Ontario's share of financing local education in Metro, particularly programs for children with special needs. (R:4.6)
- provide appropriate funding for support and counselling services to dispersed and isolated suburban immigrant families. (R:7.16)
- finance child-parent centres and afterhours family support programs in the suburbs. (R:7.5)
- cost-share: the development of multi-service programs (R:6.6); capital costs to adapt suburban facilities, including schools, to new neighbourhood uses (R:6.7:); Metro Council and municipal contributions to neighbourhood voluntary agencies in the suburbs (R:6.4); all local government contributions to plan and co-ordinate social programs within Metro (R:2.6); and, the continuation of suburban community committees on police and race relations. (R:7.20)

Provincial help will also be required to finance community services for troubled youth, home support for seniors, affordable recreation programs for children and youth of poor suburban families, and neighbourhood shuttle services. The Social Planning Council report states:

> In a balanced provincial program of economic and social development, with a public investment strategy and appropriate revenue measures (R:3.2), there would be the fiscal capacity to deal with a wide range of needs in Ontario." (p.63)
>
> In our judgement, Ontario has the capacity to finance or cost-share the spending required to meet identified social needs in Metro's suburbs." (p.70)

The Social Planning Council remains optimistic that the suburbs can adapt to new conditions, and that Metro can preserve and enhance its unique urban tradition in the eighties. What is called for are climates for renewed growth in Metro, responsible public spending policies, new planning capabilities, recognition of adaptation priorities, sensitivity to special needs, and a representative municipal electoral structure.

Online access to Part II - https://archive.org/details/planning-agenda-eighties-toronto-metro-suburbs-transition-policy-agenda-Toronto-1980

Neighbourhoods Under Stress (1983)

Commentary by: Mary Lewis

Neighbourhoods Under Stress (NUS) is a concise report, but its impact has been considerable. Produced by the Joint Task Force on Neighbourhood Support Services, chaired by Marvyn Novick, it is follow-up research to Marvyn's *Metro's Suburbs in Transition (see previous commentary by David Hulchanski).* The ideas articulated in *NUS* can be traced back to a major address that Marvyn Novick gave in 1976.[1]

Marvyn's basic thesis was that community services, when offered to people in relation to where they live, have a critical role to play in improving social patterns and amenities and thereby reducing the potential incidence of need. The community agencies that provide these services, he argues, are important because they promote opportunities for local responsibility and are a source of contact, support and social integration.

Suburbs in Transition Part II, was explicit in recommending voluntary agencies to promote opportunities for local responsibility in high risk and socially diverse neighbourhoods. Their functions were described as:

- providing social services where critical gaps exist,
- initiating outreach work with isolated groups,
- recruiting volunteers for neighbourhood programs,
- encouraging the development of local leadership,
- being a source of multi-lingual information and support, and
- coordinating neighbourhood projects with public and voluntary agencies

Specifically, *Suburbs in Transition* Part II calls for up to 20 such organizations in the suburbs with annual core funding of $50,000 to $70,000 (in 1980 dollars). *Suburbs in Transition* identifies the priority needs of suburban communities which these neighbourhood support programs serve.

Neighbourhoods Under Stress defines a Neighbourhood Support Programs as "locally initiated activities controlled by participants and residents which enable people to cope

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1 Novick, Marvyn. (1976). "Developing a Municipal Framework for Coordination", in Coordinating Human Services in Metropolitan Toronto, Urban Seminar Three. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and Institute for Public Administration of Canada (IPAC), Toronto Group.

with daily needs and to contribute to community life". They are locally rooted (belonging to the community people who participate in their development, operation and use), provide wide-ranging formal and informal support in daily living, reduce isolation and alienation, foster personal growth, self-confidence and interdependence, create opportunities for social integration and demonstrate voluntary initiative.

The report makes the case that this "ground level" within a hierarchical human services system of public and city-wide agencies is critical because radical changes in family structure, forms of urban-suburban life-styles and settlement patterns had led to an erosion of the primary support networks which traditionally formed the basis of social support.

While neighbourhood-based voluntary support programs were increasingly emerging in Toronto's outer suburbs (Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough) in response to changing social and economic conditions, the report describes their crisis of survival. It proposes new public core funding for them arguing that the Province, Metro Toronto and the six area municipal councils of the day should "recognize neighbourhood support programs as *essential services* providing a primary base of support to the daily living needs of people in their communities." The report outlines the need for a core budget of a typical neighbourhood support program in the range of $67,300 to $74,500 ($184,000 to $203,500 in 2022 dollars).

Neighbourhoods Under Stress became the key document of a very active advocacy campaign that resulted in the announcement in 1985 of a new pilot program, called the *Community and Neighbourhood Support Services Program* (CNSSP). It was cost-shared by the province, the then Metro Toronto and the United Way of Greater Toronto. After ten years of funding, the CNSSP was discontinued in 1995 falling victim to the Harris Government's social services cuts.

Through CNSSP, *NUS* had an immediate impact by contributing to the existence of about 20 voluntary agencies that built community capacity and promoted social support. It can also be argued that the report's impact went well beyond the decade immediately following its release. Several of the agencies funded under the pilot program have had a profound impact on their communities. In addition, many of the most significant policy efforts of the City of Toronto and United Way of Greater Toronto over the following three decades can trace their roots to this initial report.

CNSSP was evaluated in 1992 by the Community and Neighbourhood Support Services Association and the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Their report concluded that the program had been successful in encouraging locally initiated programs, thereby promoting community responsibility and participation, and fostering social integration and prevention by providing services tailored to the specific needs of the local community.

Are there still lessons to be learned from *Neighbourhoods Under Stress?* One lesson is that a short, focused research report can be extremely helpful in influencing social policy, particularly when it engages local actors and their insights about what communities need. In that sense, it can be argued that the process was as important as the product. The entire process of stakeholder engagement to work on *Suburbs in Transition* and

Neighborhoods Under Stress built a strong coalition committed to action. A wide group of highly committed individuals formed the Joint Task Force credited as the authors of *Neighborhoods Under Stress*. Senior officials from the then Metro Toronto and United Way of Greater Toronto were directly engaged throughout. The group was mobilized for extensive advocacy efforts following the report's release, which led to the introduction of CNSSP.

How did the document influence social policy? Although establishing recognition of local-rooted support programs as essential services was not realized as such, there has been significant adoption of the principles of the neighbourhood support model in other provincial and municipal initiatives, as the following examples illustrate:

- Early ON Child and Family Centres combine four programs to provide support to parents of young children in their neighbourhoods.
- The expansion of the Community Health Centres in the 1980s-90s reflects commitment to locally developed and provided health and social support.
- The United Way, working with the City of Toronto, released the *Building Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy* in 2006, which echoes *Neighbourhoods Under Stress,* identifying 13 priority communities as the focus for community capacity building.
- The City of Toronto's report *Toronto Strong Neighbourhoods Strategy 2020* continues to build on the same themes.

Was the recommendation to give priority to Metro's outer suburbs addressed? This recommendation was more central to *Suburbs in Transition* than to *Neighbourhoods Under Stress*. The evaluation report in 1992 and other data on Metro grant allocation show that eleven of the 21 CNSSP grants went to outer suburban neighbourhood programs, three to inner suburban groups (York and East York) and seven to programs in the City of Toronto, so that a priority focus on suburban communities was moderated to some degree. As well, the level of core funding provided in 1991 was $44,000 per agency, about two-thirds of amount proposed in *Neighbourhoods under Stress*.

The issue of prioritizing resource allocation to underserved suburban communities has been longstanding for both Toronto and the United Way. In the last few years, grant restructuring in the amalgamated City of Toronto has focused on allocating two-thirds of new program funding to "suburban" communities. The identification of the 13 priority areas in 2006 provided the City with the rationale for directing funds to suburban areas and for some significant investments in several suburban communities.

What is the relevance of *Neighbourhoods Under Stress* for today? The language of today is a little different with a focus on "placed-based" strategies and hubs. It is not clear that there is as great an emphasis on local leadership and local accountability. It is worth noting that as early as 1976 Marvyn noted the risk of focusing on multiple services cohabiting without ensuring accountability to the community and acknowledgment of the critical role of neighbourhood support services. Specifically, he stated:

This author is hardly excited by recent efforts to pursue co-ordination through a space consolidation approach, known as multi-service centers. Reinstitutionalizing the settings from which community services are offered, even if these new bureaucracies are now neighbourhood-based, is both a mis-reading of the current problem and

counter-productive to normative perspective of service provision.

The issues of today are no less urgent. The lack of a mental health system to address growing mental health issues, precarious employment, the lack of affordable housing and the needs of our refugee population have been well documented. The pandemic has underscored the inequalities across Toronto. Combatting anti-Black racism will require systematic solutions that go well beyond neighbourhood services. Yet local organizations have already played an important role in developing the leadership that is bringing much needed attention to these issues and have a role to play in reducing isolation and alienation for all equity seeking groups.

The pandemic has reinforced what Marvyn always knew: a lack of community leads to less favourable individual outcomes. COVID-19 has illustrated this on a population basis and it will take years for the full physical and mental recovery. Community will be critical in that recovery. Given that the community infrastructure has been tested to its limits with COVID-19, policy makers must not lose sight of the need to act now to ensure we continue to have that very infrastructure. The silver lining in our COVID-19 response has been the evolving use of virtual tools to stand in for community connections. They are a poor proxy for community in the context of Marvyn's work (contrary to pundits of the virtual world). However, they do provide new and helpful opportunities to build and maintain community connections. They can and will be a helpful component of community development going forward.

The issues of Toronto's suburbs persist. At the same time, the demographics of the 905 region have changed and it seems clear that a report like *Suburbs in Transition* and a subsequent concerted effort to implement its recommendations on a larger scale are desperately needed to understand and address the needs of this larger Greater Toronto Region.

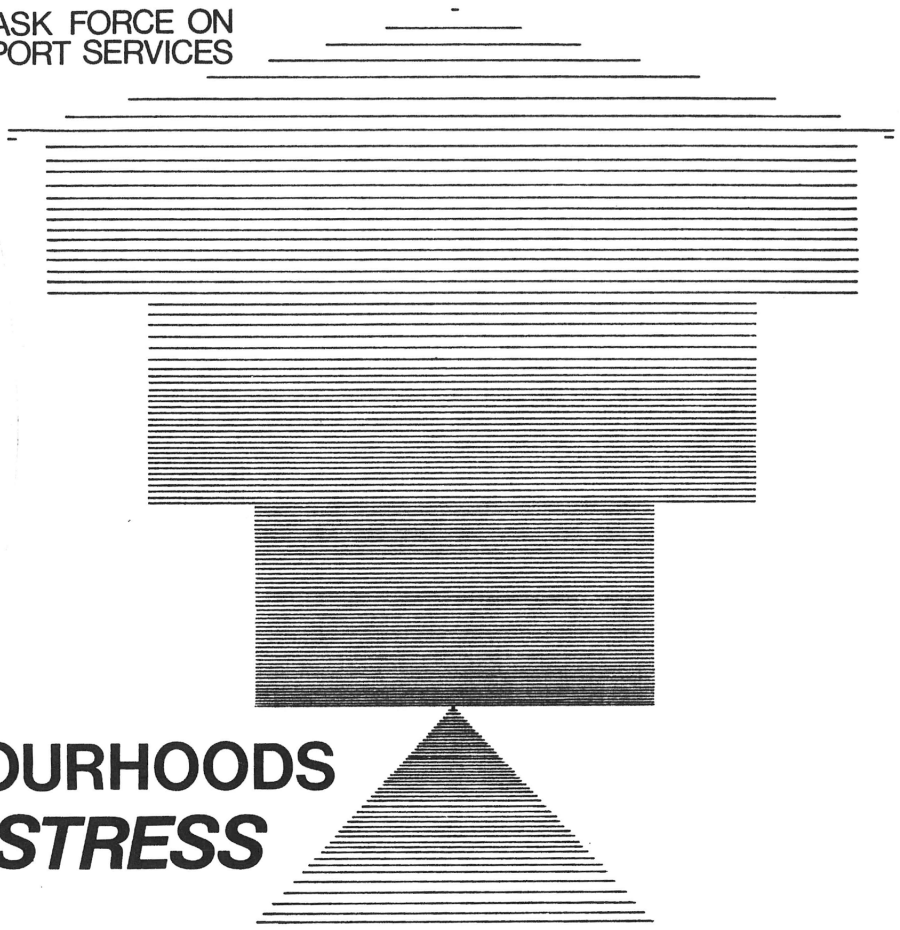
The ideas articulated in *Neighbourhoods Under Stress* can make a contribution to these larger system issues and should be incorporated as part of broader strategies. It seems appropriate to leave the final words to Marvyn, again from his address in 1976:

Most of us periodically require some form of support to make it through the experiences of daily living. Nor do we wish to be clinically defined in seeking such support. For community services to perform this role, they must come to be perceived as visible and natural elements of a community.

Mary Lewis was a Children's Aid community worker in Jane/Finch in the mid 1970's and introduced Marvyn to the area. She later worked at North York Inter-agency Council and United Way of Greater Toronto.

An excerpt from Neighbourhoods Under Stress follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/neighbourhoods-under-stress-1983

THE JOINT TASK FORCE ON
NEIGHBOURHOOD SUPPORT SERVICES



NEIGHBOURHOODS UNDER *STRESS*

E X E C U T I V E S U M M A R Y

Neighbourhoods Under Stress

Report of the Joint Task Force
on
Neighbourhood Support Services
April 1983

Neighbourhood Support Progams

LOCALLY INITIATED ACTIVITIES
CONTROLLED BY PARTICIPANTS AND RESIDENTS
WHICH ENABLE PEOPLE
TO COPE WITH DAILY NEEDS AND
TO CONTRIBUTE TO COMMUNITY LIFE

Neighbourhood support programs:

a) are locally rooted, belonging to the community people who participate in their development, operation and use;

b) provide wide-ranging, formal and informal support as appropriate to the daily living needs of individuals, and groups in their communities;

c) play a preventive role by reducing isolation and alienation among vulnerable individuals and groups in their communities;

d) create opportunities for social integration in an urban-suburban context characterized by social and cultural diversity;

e) constitute the GROUND LEVEL of basic essential services in the human service system.

Ground Level Renewal

Radical changes in family structure, forms of urban-suburban life-styles, and settlement patterns

have led to an erosion of the primary support networks which traditionally formed the base of the human service system. Demographic trends show increasing social and cultural diversity in communities across Metropolitan Toronto particularly in the suburban areas.

Neighbourhood-based voluntary support programs are emerging in response to these changing social and economic conditions. They constitute a revitalized Ground Level support network for daily living in an urban-suburban context, especially for more vulnerable groups such as older people, unemployed youth, single parent families, welfare recipients, and immigrant people, among others.

A Crisis of Survival

Currently, public policy does not recognize this essential base of social support in our neighbourhoods. Lack of guaranteed core funding (i.e. basic operational funds) jeopardizes the continuing existence of many neighbourhood support programs across Metro Toronto. Ninety-five neighbourhood support programs attested as follows to the severity of the crisis in a survey:

a) 70% reported funding as the greatest threat to their continued operation ;

b) 30 to 31 smaller suburban-based programs formed since 1976 stated that inadequate funding threatens their survival; and

c) neighbourhood groups originating since 1976 (31 of 41 are suburban-based) require approximately twice the level of funding which they currently have to continue operating.

The funding crisis is compounded by the impact of the extended economic recession on the annual United Way campaign and other private fund raising sources. Neighbourhood support programs are compelled to rely on program or project funding primarily from municipal and provincial sources, which is usually short-term and frequently does not provide operational or administrative support.

Continuing failure to provide for the core funding needs of neighbourhood support programs will increase the isolation and alienation experienced by many individuals, families and

groups in our communities and will place more burdensome demands on the already stretched resources of more traditional service agencies.

The Neighbourhood Support Program

To give neighbourhood support programs an identifiable and accessible source of ongoing funding for their basic operational costs, the Joint Task Force proposes the establishment of a provincial-municipal Neighbourhood Support Program (NSP). The major elements of the NSP would be:

a) Provincial Policy and Administration. The mandate of the Community Renewal Branch of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing would be broadened to establish the NSP under its jurisdiction.

b) Per Capita Reserve Fund. The Province would create an NSP Reserve Fund within the Community Renewal Branch. NSP core funding budgets would be held in the fund for all Ontario municipalities at a $6.00 per capita rate. (Therefore, the NSP reserve for Metro Toronto would have a $12,824,370 limit).

c) Local Share. Provincial NSP funds would be matched by a local expenditure of $4.00 per capita for an additional $8,549,580 local share for Metro Toronto, bringing the overall total for core funding support to neighbourhood support programs to $21,373,950 annually (based on $10.00 per capita rate for Metro Toronto's population in 1981).

d) Community Commitment. Between five and ten percent of core funding requirements would derive from non-governmental community sources (e.g. United Way, local fund raising, churches, etc.). Neighbourhood support programs would raise this contribution from the voluntary sector in dollars and/or in kind (e.g. free or subsidized rent) to demonstrate community commitment.

e) Municipal Participation. Municipalities would apply for release of the provincial NSP reserve funds for disbursement to local programs. Program by program assessment and funding will occur at the Metro or Area Municipality level depending on mutually satisfactory arrangements. Similarly, the Metro-Area Municipal share of between 30-35% matching funding for neighbour-

hood core support may vary across municipalities. However, release of core funding budgets from the Community Renewal Branch would be contingent upon explicit municipal policy commitment to use provincial NSP monies for the core operational requirements of neighbourhood support programs

Conclusion

The Joint Task Force believes that the proposed NSP core funding model would:

a) provide a source of stable, ongoing funding to neighbourhood support programs;

b) rationalize hitherto complex and confusing funding arrangements between public authorities and community groups; and

c) contribute to the overall effectiveness of the human service system by fortifying its base (Ground Level).

We urge Metro Toronto and the Area Municipalities to join with Task Force members in promoting this critically important policy initiative with the Provincial Government.

APPENDIX E

ELEMENTS OF A CORE BUDGET FOR
A NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD SUPPORT PROGRAM*

Staff	
Program Coordinator	$19 - 21,000
Program Worker	15 - 17,000
Receptionist-Secretary	12 - 14,000
Benefits (12%)	5 - 6,200
Total Salaries & Benefits	$51 - 58,200
Office Operations	
Rent ($700/mo.)	$ 8,400
Leased Furniture & Equipment	1,600
Telephone	2,000
Hydro and Utilities	1,100
Maintenance	1,200
Supplies	2,000
Total Office Operations	$16,300
TOTAL CORE BUDGET	$67,300 - $74,500

* Larger more established programs would necessarily have higher administrative or core costs, but the basic budget items would be similar. The range suggested here is in the same area as the median minimal operational requirements reported by all survey respondents (between $60,000 and $70,000 total core budget).

"Civic Alliances for a Mutual Canada", in Building Inclusive Communities: Cross-Canada Perspectives and Strategies (2003)

Commentary by: Joe Mihevc

It has been almost two decades since Peter Clutterbuck and Marvyn Novick wrote their reflections on building inclusive communities in a diversifying Canadian urban context. Jointly commissioned by the Laidlaw Foundation and the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM), this work was based on the results of a series of community soundings with civic officials and community leaders in ten cities across Canada. The report makes the case for creating cross-community alliances to urge more direct support by the federal government for strong municipal social infrastructure. Novick's and Clutterbuck's conclusions were that the federal engagement in developing strong social infrastructure should not be impeded by provincial claims that cities were exclusively their domain. Further city governments were to be seen as a mature order of government capable of managing their cities and capable of multi-lateral partnerships.

The last section in the report, "Civic Alliances for a Mutual Canada" written by Marvyn Novick astutely identified a number of key issues facing Canadian cities and communities – the growing diversity of Canadian society, most notably in urban centres, the increasing pressures towards fragmentation of the Canadian mosaic, the lack of social infrastructure accompanying the growth in population and physical infrastructure, the withdrawal and underfunding of social housing, the marginalization of racialized communities, youth, Aboriginal communities, and newer immigrant groups, the structural weaknesses of governments at all three levels to work together to affect change, and the lack of municipal revenue sources to meet growing needs. These issues dominated governmental fora like the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, social planning councils across the country, advocacy organizations and academics.

The report was a succinct presentation of the woes of urban communities, while also suggesting ways by which the issues could be addressed. No one order of government could do the job itself and history has shown that it has often been difficult to align the local, provincial and national in any common cause. Given the turmoil of much federal-provincial relations during the 1990s, Novick beckoned deeper federal engagement with cities by noting that "the social infrastructure of urban communities is a new frontier of federal responsibilities . . . too vital be left to the discretion of the provinces." Acknowledging that provinces have a direct role in municipal affairs and sometimes need to have their feet held to the fire, he further argued that "an active federal presence will ensure that provincial responsibilities are met." Citing the input of civic and community

leaders in the cross-Canada soundings that "local conditions have national significance," Novick's plea was "for direct federal engagement in helping to create and sustain inclusive communities."

There was also a vision of a strong community sector that could support and provide the frontline services required to build inclusive communities. Cities and local communities were understood as being "closest to the people" and in the best position both to hear the social needs and to respond in contextually sensitive ways while adhering to national and provincial equity standards.

If there were any assumptions in the article, it would be fair to say that Novick assumed that success was possible with all levels of government working together with a strong civic sector building all kinds of cross-sectoral collaborations. History has taught us that in some historical periods this collaboration works while in other periods, especially when provincial and federal governments have hostile relationships running at cross-purposes, cities and social services/justice agencies need to be more strategic.

Well, that was then and this is now, and one wonders about the changing landscape for cities and senior orders of governments. The diversity of Canada has intensified and Canada's future promises even more diversification with new immigrant groups arriving in large numbers, with the shift from rural communities to larger urban centres increasing, and homelessness, poverty and social marginalization ever on the rise.

Some groups have benefitted greatly from a generation of prosperity, and it is worth noting that Canada continues to be among the wealthiest and most prosperous countries of the world. At precisely the same time however, all the indicators show that the wealth is not being shared equitably, not even close to it, and that a greater number of Canadians are losing ground, especially among the very communities - newcomers, Aboriginal, homeless, youth and racialized – that were identified as needing support.

The changing context of 2021 and beyond also includes the COVID-19 pandemic and the post-pandemic effects. All the negative social trends present before its onset have both increased and accelerated. Homelessness in Toronto, as a marker of social woes, is for the first time hovering around the 10,000 person mark, a first in post-WWII history. In the meantime, the wealth of many corporations, especially in the high tech sector, and high net worth individuals have seen their wealth climb astronomically. The social impacts of COVID-19 both reflect deepening social divides while at the same time accelerating those same divisions. It is clearly a situation begging for strong governmental intervention.

It does beg the question: What happened in the last generation? What is it about Canadian society, about the Canadian governmental system, about the political enterprise, about the movements for social justice, that we have not been able to achieve any substantial victory in any of the areas mentioned by Novick. Has the Canadian spirit of community and social solidarity that built our post-WWII institutions of social equity and justice so atrophied into a spirit of complacency? Have Canadians lost that strong sense of community cooperation and public good in favour of an ethic of consumerism and Darwinian competition? And is there also something in the structure of municipal-provincial-federal governance that makes it so hard to develop a stronger

social infrastructure supporting vulnerable people and communities?

The impacts of COVID-19 provoke further questions: will orders of government seize the moment, appreciate the deepening and overlapping crises and build new systems of equity and justice? How much damage did the social distancing feature of the pandemic do to Canadians' sense of social solidarity? What are the post-pandemic issues around which broad-based, pan-Canadian coalitions can construct renewed visions of greater social equity that all orders of government will find a need to respond to?

Cities and communities need allies and partnerships with other orders of government now as much as in prior generations. When a provincial order of government is hostile to the needs of cities, as is currently the case in Ontario today, then a civic partnership with the federal order of government needs to be re-visioned and strengthened. Direct urban-federal relationships are in fact already being built and could be strengthened. Novick and Clutterbuck's basic insight that a pan-Canadian approach, augmenting provincial relationships where possible, is insightful for the present moment. Cities wanting to build their social infrastructure need all the friends they can get and if one order of government is stalled or working backwards, another order of government can and needs to be leveraged to fill the gap.

Novick's and Clutterbuck's analysis on the lack of progress on social issues is as right on the mark today as it has ever been. The political question of today, a generation after the writing of their report, is first to figure out the "how and why" for the lack of meaningful progress on social justice and inclusion. Canadian society and values of social solidarity are stuck, even moving backwards, and we need to figure out a way to focus attention and make something happen. The Trumps and Fords of the world are certainly a piece of it. But a deeper understanding of the social, political, and economic underpinnings that gave them an opening and propelled them to power is needed. Further, governmental structures and relationships are a piece of the puzzle. These are the challenges that a re-read of Novick and Clutterbuck raises for the next generation.

Joe Mihevc is a Visiting Professor at York University and a former city councillor in Toronto.

An excerpt from Building Inclusive Communities follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/building-inclusive-communities

Building Inclusive Communities:
Cross-Canada Perspectives and Strategies

Prepared for the
Federation of Canadian Municipalities
and
The Laidlaw Foundation

by
Peter Clutterbuck and Marvyn Novick

April 2003

C. CIVIC ALLIANCES FOR A MUTUAL CANADA (pp. 28 – 32)

> "Canada has a unique model of citizenship, based simultaneously on diversity and mutual responsibility. This model requires deliberate efforts to connect Canadians across their differences, to link them to their history, and to enable their diverse voices to participate in choosing the Canada we want." Government of Canada, Speech from the Throne, September 30, 2002 1.

1. Social Infrastructure: Voices and Values

The civic capacity of large and small municipalities to sustain communities of social and cultural diversity living in states of vitality and harmony is a fundamental challenge to the future of Canada. It is within municipalities that basic states of social inclusion are cultivated and experienced. It is within civic communities that the relationships between citizenship and diversity are established. When social vulnerabilities and racial differences lead to serious disparities of circumstances and prospects, as is disturbingly evident in Canadian communities, then diversity is stripped of dignity and citizenship is devoid of mutual responsibility.

The contention that Canada has a unique model of citizenship based on diversity and mutual responsibility affirms that the project of social inclusion is fundamental to the distinctive identity and character of the country. As a society, we do not possess the military or economic might to impose our presence on the world. Canada attracts people from every part of the world who want to come with their families and talents to live, work, and enrich our communities. Social inclusion then is a promise of common membership and equal opportunity.

Infrastructure refers to the basic, underlying features of a system or organization. It may highlight fundamental facilities or sectors that sustain vital areas of capacity and provision. More familiar forms of urban infrastructure include basic amenities such as roads, sewers, transit, schools, parks, libraries. These amenities provide a basic foundation for settlement and economic activity. However, on their own, they cannot assure inclusion and innovation. A focus on "social" infrastructure compels us to look at the civic capacities of these amenities to generate and sustain relative states of well-being of diverse populations in settlements across Canada.

Whom civic capacities sustain and include - who is respected and valued, who is supported, who contributes to economic and community life - these are fundamental questions about the quality of social infrastructures. Social inclusion can be universal or selective. Settlements and environments can welcome the proximity and the presence of all who share a common civic space, or can restrict inclusion to those who enjoy structural advantage and privilege. These are not technocratic issues for which there is a rational calculus of utility to guide our directions. Market frameworks of the greatest good for the many are inherently exclusionary. The many does not include all.

Democratic concepts of universal citizenship lead to principles that value full inclusion - not 60% inclusion, not 80%, but a 100% standard of inclusion. Is this not precisely what the principles of medicare are all about - 100% inclusion of all Canadians in common and shared environments of care that can respond to a diversity of life cycle and contingent health circumstances. The 100% standard of inclusion embedded in medicare is founded on voice and values. This is what a major legacy of this Prime Minister will be - creating a public platform for a respected national voice [that of Mr. Romanow] to recover and reclaim shared national values of full inclusion in common systems of care.

Thus, the social infrastructures of settlements and communities are grounded in voices and values. Whose

voices and which values are central issues of civic and national development. The structural challenge is to ensure that public platforms are created which reach out and amplify the voices of diversity and mutual responsibility in settlements and communities across Canada. These voices are frequently muted by traditional divisions within Canada, in which we territorialize our social diversities through provinces.

The cross-Canada soundings of community and civic leaders revealed shared patterns of social vulnerability and structural disparity in urban communities across provinces. The soundings identified strongly shared values on the desire to create fully inclusive communities of engagement and proximity which value and respect diversity. The soundings pointed to the impacts of deficient support systems and depleted living standards on civic capacities for inclusion. There was a clear recognition that local conditions have national significance, and this was reflected in the dominant call from community and civic leaders across Canada for direct federal engagement in helping to create and sustain inclusive communities.

There are many dimensions to the scope of federal contributions required to build vital cities and inclusive communities. These were outlined in reports of the Prime Minister's Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues calling for federal investments in affordable housing, transit and transportation, and sustainable infrastructure. While the final report of the task force identified social harmony as a core national and urban requirement, and cited the need for investments in people and social infrastructure by all orders of government, it was unclear whether the call for federal funding of a national infrastructure program included a social infrastructure dimension.

In its 2002 submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Finance, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities [FCM] called for federal support of community social infrastructure to address areas of affordable housing, homelessness, recreation and play spaces for children, pilot community engagement initiatives, and support for local strategies on drug abuse. FCM called for $10 million from Ottawa to establish an FCM-administered centre for community social development to work with the philanthropic and private sectors to identify local priorities on engagement and inclusion, to connect municipal and community leaders on social infrastructure development, and to monitor best practices.

Both the Prime Minister's task force and the FCM submission were relatively silent on initiatives to address the emerging diversity of Canada. Limited attention was paid to the deteriorating status of recent immigrants and refugees in larger urban communities. Civic and national strategies are required to create public platforms to profile the voices of diversity and vulnerability in communities across Canada.

2. Civic Panels: Building Cross-Canada Community Networks

The eleven community soundings funded and organized by the Laidlaw Foundation in urban regions across Canada during the summer and fall of 2002 brought together civic leaders, agency professionals, and social advocates committed to building and sustaining inclusive communities. Participants in the soundings are important sources of civic capacity in developing local and national strategies for social infrastructure development. These civic participants are sources of direct engagement with vulnerability and diversity on the ground in communities across Canada. They know the impacts of senior government policies on living conditions in their communities. They work with local public services and community agencies to create inclusive practices which respond to vulnerability and diversity. They incubate and nurture new sources of civic leadership from among the easily forgotten and ignored. Their collective voices are a national asset that needs to be recognized and strengthened.

One way to continue the discussion within and across communities initiated through the Laidlaw urban soundings would be to support the development of horizontal networks of shared interest and commitment

on identified areas of critical concern. The construction of cross-Canada civic panels could serve as a vehicle for joint municipal and community input into the development of social infrastructure policies and practices which address vulnerability and diversity in large and small municipalities.

Civic panels would be pilot initiatives to reflect a new approach to national initiatives - creating horizontal networks across communities with hubs outside of Ottawa. This would ground national perspectives in daily community life, and ensure that work at the local civic level was recognized as having national significance. This is frequently lost in vertical centres based in Ottawa.

A process for creating and supporting the work of civic panels should be developed. Federal funding could be provided to a joint pilot initiative of the FCM Social Infrastructure Committee and community social planning organizations in a select number of urban communities in different regions of Canada. In each urban 30 community, a civic panel would be established to conduct a civic social audit on states of social inclusion in that community. Each panel would be jointly chaired by a municipal councillor and community leader with strong commitments and experience on issues of vulnerability and diversity. The framework, protocols, and procedures for conducting the civic social audit in each urban location would be jointly developed in work with the pilot communities. Audit activities would be expected to include the development of key inclusion indicators, profiles of promising municipal and institutional practices which recognize diversity and promote inclusion, documentation of the impacts of senior government policies on community living standards, municipal hearings to platform community voices of vulnerability and diversity, expert task groups to recommend policy and program initiatives, and public reporting on states of social inclusion.

Civic social audits would address issues of inclusion of particular significance to each urban community, as well as common areas of concern revealed in the cross Canada soundings. While the relative intensities of exclusion and vulnerability may vary by local conditions, there was widespread apprehension in the soundings on states of inclusion and well-being of children, youth, and families. Too many children and youth were being left behind, and too many families were living without the security of basic amenities and resources. Urban communities had limited capacities to support the diverse and common requirements of vulnerable families, and the healthy development of all children and youth.

The soundings revealed that urban communities across Canada are struggling to build civic frameworks committed to social justice and equity for people of diverse circumstances and origins. Civic panels would promote the sharing of knowledge and experiences on how urban communities respond to particular diversities [e.g. urban Aboriginal peoples, immigrants and refugees, ethno-racial/cultural diversities, people with disabilities.] A key objective of this panel would be to ensure that voices of diversity are recognized as core Canadian voices in the development of civic practices and national policies for social inclusion.

3. Federal Responses to Civic Priorities

The Laidlaw community soundings revealed an emerging fault line in Canadian federalism. Civic leaders, advocates, and social professionals in major urban regions across Canada want direct federal contributions to strengthen the social infrastructures of their communities. On the whole, there is less confidence and credibility of provinces as exclusively mandated voices of municipalities and their priorities. Civic communities share concerns and commitments that frequently cut across provincial jurisdictions, and can help create a sense of social unity across Canada if they are recognized and supported as authentic national voices.

There is a need to review and assess the role of large and small urban communities in the development

of national social frameworks. Strong civic 31 alliances across the country represent the best hope of promoting and sustaining Canada's unique model of citizenship based on diversity and mutual responsibility as highlighted in the 2002 speech from the throne.

Social inclusion is a national challenge to the integrity and continuity of Canada. The capacity of urban communities in every region of the country to provide conditions of well-being for all citizens across the life cycle, to recognize and value differences among peoples of global diversities and origins, and to live a common life of proximity and vitality will define Canada to itself and to the world. The federal government has acknowledged social responsibilities in areas vital to national continuity - medicare, a social security system for seniors, equalization payments to sustain comparable public services in provinces. Recently, federal funding responsibilities have been directly extended to new national frameworks for early development and regulated child care.

The social infrastructure of urban communities is a new frontier of federal responsibility. Social infrastructure priorities include serious contributions to affordable housing and public transit, strengthening services and programs for immigrants and refugees, recognizing recreation as an essential urban amenity for health promotion and civic cohesion, facilitating the transitions of urban aboriginal peoples to urban life, and developing effective preventive approaches to community safety and security. These areas are too vital to be left to the discretion of provinces. While provinces have responsibilities and contributions to the social infrastructure of urban communities, an active federal presence will ensure that provincial responsibilities are met.

Children, Families and Youth: A Collective Responsibility

A Fair Chance for All Children: The Declaration on Child Poverty (1986)

Commentary by: Brigitte Kitchen

With *The Declaration of Child Poverty: A Fair Chance of For All Children* (1986), the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) issued a powerful demand for justice for children. The group, consisting of academics, social workers, educators, health care providers and social planners, had spontaneously come together at an eye-opening child poverty conference, hosted by the Social Planning Council of Toronto, to address the doubling of the number of children growing up poor in the aftermath of the economic recession in the early 1980s. The unfortunate combination of high unemployment and inflation rates had led to a stagnation of market wages and the inflationary decline of the value of social programs. Living standards were falling, particularly in low-income parent families; and poverty in Canada had become that of a child.

In a hard-hitting analysis of both structural and cultural dimensions of poverty the Declaration deplored child poverty as a national neglect of children and the under-valuation of the service parents contribute to society. Children, the report maintained, were more than a source of personal fulfilment for their parents. They were in fact the most crucial resource of a country, establishing a shared partnership and responsibility for their upbringing between parents and their national community.

This partnership had been still prevalent in the 1970s. *Poor Kids*, (1975), a report by the National Council of Welfare, setting out the unfairness to children having to grow up poor, had been followed up by the introduction of the Refundable Child Tax credit in support of children in low and modest income families.

Marvyn with three cooperators from CPAG sought to revive this sense of civic responsibility for children with the idea of a National Income for Children, a startlingly bold and compelling policy proposal to ensure that all children, regardless of the socio-economic circumstances of their parents, would …"be given equality of life chances to develop as persons and citizens of the national community." This was the fundamental birthright of every child in Canada.

The National Income for Children consists of three components: (1) a basic income floor, reflecting the annual average costs of raising a child; (2) a parental employment income guarantee of 60% of the average industrial wage; and (3) a parental solidarity income top-up for parents with incomes below an acceptable level.

It could not have come forward at a most unpropitious time. A tidal wave of neoliberal forces was sweeping Canada. The persistence of large budgetary deficits was used as a convenient expedient in reducing the role of government. The corresponding increase in the power of markets was, according to neoliberal thinking, an economic imperative and not a political choice. A new and ambitious social transfer program was anathema in the social climate of the time. Children were reduced to consumption goods as parents were to ask themselves whether they had adequate material means to afford them.

Yet the idea of a National Income for Children and the fundamental demand for fairness for all children had not vanished. Thirty years later, in July 2016, the introduction of an income scaled Canada Child Benefit came close to its model. Finance Minister Bill Morneau called the Canada Child Benefit to be the most significant social policy innovation since universal health care.

The Benefit is clearly effective as the reduction in the number of poor children shows. In 2015, the UNICEF report card 11 had ranked Canada 17th among the 29 richest countries in the world on the scale of child poverty with 15% of its children living in poverty. In 2017, the child poverty rate had fallen to 9%.

The national shame of children growing up poor is still a shameful reality. But Marvyn's and the Child Poverty Action Group's keen income proposal has pointed the way to end it. Unfortunately in the years, following the report, public funds allocated for the support of children have been a far cry from being considered a national income for children. Canada's child poverty ranks us today (2022) 23rd among 35 industrialized countries, according to Campaign 2000. A national income for children is a struggle that still has to be won.

Brigitte Kitchen, PhD is a founding member of the Child Poverty Action Group and a close friend and colleague of Marvyn.

An excerpt from A Fair Chance for All Children follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/a-fair-chance-for-all-children.-1986

THE DECLARATION
ON CHILD POVERTY

A FAIR CHANCE FOR ALL CHILDREN

April 1986

Child Poverty Action Group

1.2 It is the birthright of every child living in Canada to be offered conditions which provide equality of life chances to develop as a person and to contribute as a citizen of the community.

"Equality of life chances" means that every child should, as a right of birth, grow up in conditions conducive to his or her optimal development. Children have a right to become productive, fulfilled, and responsible citizens. Thus, "optimal development" requires that the knowledge, skill, and talent of all children be nurtured and that their faculties of reason, love, and moral capacity (e.g., compassion, generosity, the ability to give and receive pleasure) be allowed to develop.

1.3 Child poverty exists when there is serious inequality of life chances for the optimal development of all children. Parental income and its impact on the family environment greatly influence children's life chances.

Children do not choose the environment into which they are born. Yet, children's life chances are at present largely determined by the accident of birth. Although parental income is not the only factor affecting family environment and children's life chances - others are class and parental education - it is a major one. The parents' income affects all aspects of a child's life, including:

- health and access to health care. (In Canada, the infant mortality rate is almost twice as high for the poorest segment of the population as for the most economically advantaged.[6]);
- quality of food and clothing.
- the quality of education children receive and whether they will graduate from school or leave early. (Numerous studies have

shown that parental income, among other factors, influences children's academic performance, expectations, and vocational aspirations. School drop-out studies have drawn strong correlations between size of family and parental income and early school leaving[7]);

- whether they obtain a post-secondary education. (If a child's parent has a university degree, there is a 40 per cent chance that the child will obtain a post-secondary education; if, on the other hand, a child's parent did not attend university, there is only a 10 per cent chance that he or she will attend university[8].)

- the kind of cultural advantages children are offered. (Poor families spend a significantly greater percentage of their incomes on basic necessities, such as food, clothing and shelter, than do families with high incomes - 69.8 per cent and 42.4 per cent respectively in 1982. Consequently, low income families have considerably less disposable income for cultural and social opportunities for their children, such as private lessons, recreation, and school trips.[9])

- the type of house or apartment and, consequently, the kind of neighbourhood in which children are raised.

1.4 All Canadians, whether or not they are parents, have a responsibility to support policies and social conditions favourable to good parenting and to meeting the developmental needs of all children.

A society's future rests with its children. They are our future citizens and the next generation of taxpayers, productive workers and

parents. The care and nurturing of children should, therefore, be seen as a shared responsibility among parents, the community and our governments. The parental role should be accorded the same public status as the work role. The needs and obligations of all parents must receive urgent recognition in government employment, housing and income policies.

Parenting is clearly a source of personal fulfillment for men and women. But it is also a contribution which some adults make to the general community - a contribution which entails economic costs and other sacrifices for parents. (It has been estimated that it costs between $66,800 and $106,800 to raise a child from 0 to 18, depending on whether day care is included[10]. This is an annual cost of between $3700 and $5900. If responsibility for post-secondary education were included, this amount would increase by about $1,000 to $5,000 a year.)

The Child Poverty Action Group contends that the national neglect of children is rooted in a cultural and political bias against parenting. The significant contribution which parents make to the general community is not adequately recognized and supported. This is seen in many ways:

- the inadequacy of parental incomes;
- the lack of affordable and appropriate family housing. (In 1985, there were over 15,000 people on the waiting list for Ontario's rent-geared-to income family housing program.[11]);

- the shortage of regulated child care services for working families. (Based on the number of mothers of young children in the labour force, there are only enough spaces to serve less than 20 per cent of children needing day care in Canada.[12]);

- the lack of alternative work arrangements to allow parents to meet the competing demands of work and family life. (A recent survey of Metro Toronto employers found that only 25 per cent of workplaces offered any form of alternative work arrangement, such as flex-time, job sharing or family leave.[13])

Parents on low incomes experience society's bias against children and parenting more acutely than do economically advantaged parents who have greater control as to where they live and work. Parents who own their own homes do not have to contend with the anti-child bias of many rental arrangements. Economically well-off parents are also more likely to work in jobs which allow greater flexibility in balancing work and family life. Low income parents, by contrast, not only have fewer choices as to where they live and work, but they also lack the financial resources to meet adequately the costs of raising their children.

1.5 Canada's future rests with all our children. If child poverty is allowed to continue, an underclass of Canadian citizens will exist in our midst for generations to come.

It is wasteful and unjust to allow child poverty to exist in an affluent society like Canada. The personal effects of growing up in poverty may be devastating for children. Equally important, the social inequality reflected in rising poverty statistics is potentially divisive -- it threatens productivity, solidarity among

Unequal Futures: The Legacies of Child Poverty in Canada (1991)

Commentary by: Brigitte Kitchen

That the fundamental groundwork for the development of all abilities of individuals is laid in childhood, shaping and forming their future in adulthood, was the core idea of *Unequal Futures: The Legacies of Child Poverty in Canada* (1991), a pivotal joint project of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG).

Identifying the grim realities of growing up poor, the report challenged the comforting belief that all children in Canada were given equal chances to reach their full developmental potential, regardless of the socio-economic circumstances of their parents and their social environment.

Marvyn's unique and outstanding contribution to *Unequal Futures* was to delve deeper into the structural and ideological facets of material deprivations and disadvantages that mark the downward cycle of inequalities for poor children from childhood to adult life.

What does inequality look like? In Canada, rising inequality can be easily detected from data on income distribution in quintiles.

Traditional poverty research tends to use "a numbers game" approach, focusing on the income gap between the bottom and the top of the income scale but failing to assess the graduations of advantages that mark the social distance between different income levels.

"As income rises an increasing proportion can be spent on satisfying discretionary needs which make life more pleasant and enhance the developmental potential of children.'' (Unequal Futures, p.24)

Marvyn proposed five descriptive categories in income graduation: "poor, vulnerable, mainstream, advantaged, and affluent". Later he suggested replacing "mainstream" with "middle income," believing it to reflect the social position of this income group more accurately; and a clear contrast to middle-class income that seemed too broad.

Each income category reflected dimensions of economic differences in living standards and social distance between income groups and their impact on children's futures.

At the lowest inequality level, growing up in poverty meant a childhood spent in the long shadow of poor health, poor education, lack of material security, perilous family and social environments and the likelihood of getting caught up in the criminal youth justice system.

The harm inflicted by these risks is not only a personal tragedy for the children affected but should concern us all. We pay a "collective price" when we allow the entrenchment of child poverty to be passed on as a legacy from one generation to the next.

Unequal Futures placed the causes and responsibility for child poverty squarely on a "free market vision of the economy." The report also warned that the neoliberal political agenda of social spending cuts by successive Canadian governments, pursuing balanced budgets and tax cuts would lead to a rising and dangerous entrenchment of child poverty. This is exactly what happened during the decades long sequence of austerity policies.

Even when budgetary surpluses were achieved at the federal level they were not used for the "nurturing" of vulnerable family environments but passed on in the form of corporate tax cuts. Marvyn was deeply and bitterly disappointed. A reasonable government would have invested in improving the material circumstances of children and families at-risk. But this was not to be the case and the chance to build a better world for our children and their families was lost.

Unequal Futures offered a radically different way of thinking, not just about the damages of inequality and poverty but about the way we relate to the future of disadvantaged children and our own. A country that fails to invest in its children's future not only fails them but also itself.

Brigitte Kitchen, PhD is a founding member of the Child Poverty Action Group and a close friend and colleague of Marvyn's.

An excerpt from Unequal Futures: The Legacies of Child Poverty in Canada follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/unequal-futures-the-legacies-of-child-poverty-in-canada-1991

UNEQUAL FUTURES

THE LEGACIES OF CHILD POVERTY IN CANADA

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Conventional poverty research is often a mathematical game, focussing on the number, composition, and characteristics of poor people instead of their material deprivation in comparison to the "non-poor". There is no magical divide between the poor, those living below a certain technically defined income level, and those just above it. The same holds for the delineations between the other five categories. They are based on the assumption that as income rises an increasing proportion can be spent on satisfying discretionary needs which make life more pleasant and enhance the developmental potential of children. Living at or below the poverty level means that even the basic physical needs cannot be met in spite of careful budgeting. The growing use of foodbanks in Canada clearly indicates this particular predicament for poor families.

"LIVING AT OR BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL MEANS THAT EVEN THE BASIC PHYSICAL NEEDS CANNOT BE MET IN SPITE OF CAREFUL BUDGETING"

"Vulnerable" families, although not technically poor in terms of the Low Income Cut-Off, have incomes about 25% above the poverty line. This means that their standard of living is not significantly different from the officially designated poor. They are vulnerable in the sense that the material circumstances of their lives are strained; they are more likely to be on the margins of the labour market, struggling to make ends meet and have little more to offer their children than the basic necessities. Careful budgeting of their limited resources can make the difference between falling into debt and modest expenditures on items beyond basic needs. An unexpected demand on their budget, such as a child's dental bill, could necessitate cutting back in other essential areas (e.g delaying the rent or utilities payment). The economic security of vulnerable families often hangs tenuously on parents' low-paying, unstable jobs. Economic downturn and job loss can threaten many of these families with "official" poverty.

"Mainstream" families are comprised of those households with incomes greater than 25% above and up to three times the poverty line. Their incomes are sufficient to meet family consumption needs at a reasonable level of comfort. They have the financial means to participate in leisure activities such as sports, culture, amusement, and holidays. "Advantaged" families have incomes between three and four times the poverty line, while "Affluent" families are higher still at more than four times the poverty line. While the material comforts of the advantaged are still closely tied to the provision of public services such as high quality health care and education, affluent families enjoy advantages and privileges far out of the reach of poor, vulnerable, and mainstream families, and can also well afford to purchase privately what advantaged families secure through public service systems.

TABLE 3.3
Average Income by Income Category Lone Parent and Two Parent Families
Canada, 1986

Income Category	Lone-Parent		Two-Parent	
Poor	1.0	$10,750	1.0	$14,596
Vulnerable	1.7	17,796	1.5	21,533
Mainstream	2.5	27,343	2.7	39,645
Advantaged	3.8	40,914	4.2	62,130
Affluent	6.1	65,692	6.8	100,677

Source: Statistics Canada: *Survey of Familiy Expenditures*, 1988

Table 3.3 indicates the actual average incomes in these five categories for lone parent and two parent families using 1986 family expenditure data (Appendix Table B gives the income ranges for the five categories). It shows the Canadian income distribution system highly skewed towards the upper end. The average poor two parent family had

an income of $14,596, while a poor lone parent family had an income of $10,750. Vulnerable families did only 50% to 70% better than poor families in 1986, while mainstream families earned between two and three times the average poor family income. Advantaged and affluent family incomes are, of course, much higher even for lone parent situations. Affluent couples not only had almost seven times the income of poor couples, but also five times that of vulnerable couples and two and a half times that of mainstream couples.

Children are materially better off in all income categories when they are living with both parents. Table 3.4 shows that the monthly difference between two and lone parent situations for poor and vulnerable families is relatively close at $320 and $311 respectively. The monthly differential rises in the mainstream, advantaged, and affluent categories to $1,025, $1,768 and $2,917 respectively. An income of about $40,000 places a lone parent into the advantaged category in dollar terms, whereas it is only a mainstream income ($39,645) for couple families. An affluent lone parent's income ($65,672) is comparable to an advantaged couple's income ($62,130). Notably, 51% of families in the mainstream had only one income earner in 1973, which dropped to 29% in 1987. This suggests that since it more often takes two income earners today for a family with children to have a mainstream income, the absence of a second earner in a family changes the material circumstances of children with higher income parents more dramatically than for those with lower income parents.

Income disparities such as those discussed above and their relationship to family poverty take on more meaning when the employment activities of families in different income categories are compared. Table 3.5 draws this comparison out of the more detailed data in Appendix Table C. It clearly shows that between 1973 and 1987 labour force attachment has strongly expanded for all family income groups except the poor. Among poor families with children, 57% had less than one full-time earner and this climbed to 67.6% by 1987. The vulnerable families income group is the only other to show an increase in the proportion of less than one full-time earner (2.3%) over the fifteen year period. A greater proportion of vulner-

TABLE 3.4
Income Differential for Couple and Lone-Parent Families by Income Category

Income Category	Family Income		Differential		Difference (%)
	Two-Parent	Sole Parent	Annual	Monthly	
Poor	$14,596	$10,750	$3,846	$ 320	26.3
Vulnerable	21,533	17,796	3,737	311	17.3
Mainstream	39,645	27,343	12,302	1,025	31.0
Advantaged	62,130	40,914	21,216	1,768	34.0
Affluent	100,677	65,672	35,005	2,917	55.0

Source: Satistics Canada, Survey of Family Expenditures, 1988

TABLE 3.5
Affluence by Family Labour Force Activity

Income Category	Number of Full-Time Earners	Per Cent Families with Children		
		1973	1987	Difference
Poor	Less than One	57.1	67.6	+10.5
	One	28.1	17.9	-10.2
	Between One & Two	14.8	14.5	-0.3
		100.0	100.0	
Vulnerable	Less than One	27.6	29.9	+2.3
	One	52.4	34.1	-18.3
	Between One & Two	20.0	36.0	+16.0
		100.0	100.0	
Mainstream	Less than One	10.0	8.8	-1.2
	One	50.5	28.7	-21.8
	Between One & Two	39.5	62.5	+23.0
		100.0	100.0	
Advantaged	Less than One	3.9	3.5	-0.4
	One	38.3	16.7	-21.6
	Between One & Two	57.8	79.8	+22.0
		100.0	100.0	
Affluent	Less than One	3.5	2.2	-1.3
	One	43.9	11.7	-32.2
	Between One & Two	52.6	86.1	+33.5
		100.0	100.0	
Total	Less than One	16.9	18.2	+1.3
	One	45.9	24.8	-21.1
	Between One & Two	37.2	57.0	+19.8
		100.0	100.0	

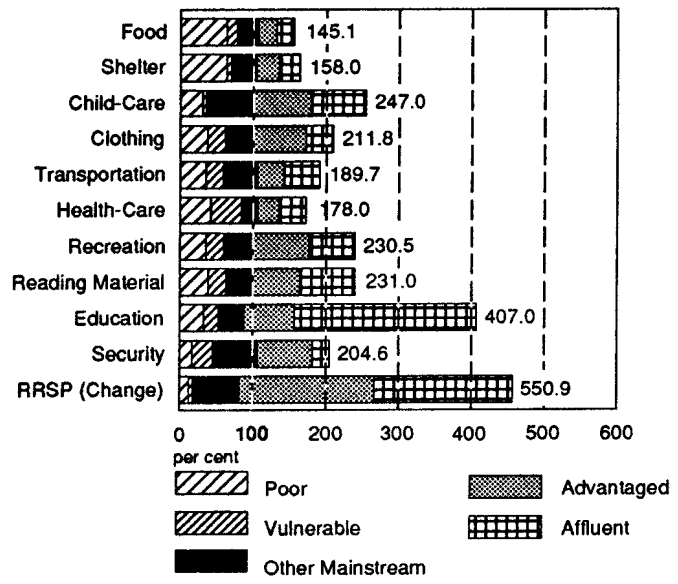
Source: Satistics Canada, Survey of Consumer Finances, Special Tabulation

able families increased their labour force participation between 1973 and 1987 (16.0% increase to 36.0%), indicating the need for more than one income to enable families to stay above the official poverty line. All of the top three family income groups increased their employment activity strongly well above the total average increase of 19.8% for the period. Clearly, the existing income disparities will only widen if this pattern of employment activity continues.

Spending Differences Among Family Income Groups

What does living in poverty mean to families raising children? How does their standard of living differ from families with more income? While more income is not a sufficient condition for living better, an examination of the consumption patterns among families with children shows the extent of material inequalities and disadvantages which characterize childhood experiences in Canada.

FIGURE 3.1
Spending by Income as % of Average Families with Children
Canada, 1986



Source: Satistics Canada, Survey of Family Expenditures, Special Tabulation

Figure 3.1 shows Canadian family expenditure patterns in 1986. Average spending among all Canadian families with children is set at 100%. Spending by the five income categories is related to that standard.

The poor spend the bulk of their money on basic family needs with very little left for anything else. Spending 65% of the average family with children on each of food and shelter and 35% of the family average spending on clothing, it is clear that poor families make choices monthly about whether to pay the rent, have enough to eat, or purchase other essentials (eg. shoes for the children to wear to school). Most often the basic necessity of shelter leads to serious sacrifices in terms of nutrition. Vulnerable families spend 81% of average family spending on food but are still well below mainstream (103%), advantaged (125%), and affluent (145%) families in that regard.

The spending disparities in relation to average family spending among family income groups are much wider for recreation. Affluent parents spent 231% of average families compared to 39% for the poor, 63% for the vulnerable, 98% for the mainstream, and 178% for the advantaged. Children in poor families clearly miss out on cultural and recreational activities which can only be purchased. Visiting most museums, going to summer camp or a hockey game or even a movie costs money which poor parents do not have. The developmental horizons of poor children are more limited in this way. Affluent parents spent four times the average family spending for educational purposes and more than twice the average for reading material while poor parents could only manage about a third of the family average for educational purposes and 40% of the average for reading material. Private schools, music and dance lessons, language classes, and travel are the means by which the advantaged and affluent assure the educational advantages of their children over other children, especially poor children.

Foreword to The Missing Child in Liberal Theory: Towards a Covenant Theory of Family, Community, Welfare and the Civic State (1994)

Commentary by: Nathan Gilbert and Walter Ross

Marvyn Novick believed strongly in the link between nationhood and our collective responsibility for children. In his Foreword to John O'Neill's, *The Missing Child in Liberal Theory*, Marvyn contends that "nowhere is the incipient decline of Canadian nationhood more evident than in the neglect of the next generation." Marvyn illustrates a remarkable capacity for foresight in his observation that "it is not only the traditionally disadvantaged who are at risk, but growing numbers of the next generation who are vulnerable to lives of despair and diminished prospects". This insight is even more relevant in today's tangled world than when written in 1994.

It is not surprising that O'Neill's ideas resonated with Marvyn and that O'Neill acknowledged that his work had benefitted from close discussions with Marvyn. Within this book of critical political theory, John O'Neill pinpoints the central weakness of the reigning neoliberal world-view. The kids are absent. According to O'Neill, modernism had stripped away collective responsibility and abandoned the current generation of young people to a "competitive life of privilege and risk"1. Referencing C. B. MacPherson's 'possessive individualism', O'Neill responds: "We know of no political institution other than the welfare state" that can encourage an ethic of civic responsibility through norms of reciprocity for the "stranger, the ancestor and the newborn". Both civic responsibility and reciprocity were core ideas throughout much of Marvyn's work.

Marvyn's foreword to O'Neill's essay offers an easy to read short summary of O'Neill's book. But Marvyn does more. He situates the conversation within the Canadian nation state and broadens the political spectrum by referencing George Grant's 1965 book, *Lament for a Nation*. Grant's lament is that of a traditionalist criticizing the homogenizing influences of an emerging global capitalism in a world in which the "purpose of life is consumption" and "borders are an anachronism". By extension and in Marvyn's words, little regard is paid to future generations and the "life quality and life chances for children".

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1 From Marvyn's speech to the Catholic Press Association (reproduced in this volume).

Marvyn made a substantial contribution to the Laidlaw Foundation's Children at Risk (CAR) Program which commissioned the O'Neill treatise. The CAR program, the largest sustained multi-year commitment of resources in the Foundation's seventy-year history, funded research on the life chance perspective on child development, as well as Campaign 2000, the cross-Canada coalition to end child poverty. Marvyn was instrumental in developing the next phase of the Foundation's work on the prospects of young people, focusing on social responsibility for civic life. In the 1996 draft social mission, he wrote: "Creating and sustaining civic life requires all the institutions of society to pitch in and become engaged". Later, he again worked with others to contribute fresh ideas and new language, notably the language of inclusion, to advance a children's' policy agenda and to inform subsequent Laidlaw Foundation initiatives.

In the 25 years since Marvyn wrote the foreword to The Missing Child some things have changed but many have not. The introduction of the Canada Child Benefit is evidence of progress. But children are too often an afterthought. We demand lower taxes while shortchanging the education of our children. Capital is more disconnected than ever. History will not look favourably on the current levels of inequality that we tolerate and which limit the life chances of so many. Nor will history look favourably on our disregard for the natural world and the inevitable consequences for future generations. For whatever reason we seem to be unable to control let alone shape these forces.

In these precarious times the rumblings of discontent are magnifying. At the level of theory political economists increasingly are challenging the prevailing neoliberal growth assumptions. And people are taking to the streets to express their outrage. Perhaps we are even beginning to acknowledge the seven generations wisdom of Indigenous peoples. So, for our children and grandchildren, the struggle continues.

Re-reading the foreword to The Missing Child is a reminder that Marvyn continues to inspire us, not just his gift of foresight but also his intense passion for the struggle.

June 2020

Nathan Gilbert is the former Executive Director and Walter Ross is the Past President of the Laidlaw Foundation.

The Missing Child in Liberal Theory

Towards a Covenant Theory of Family, Community, Welfare, and the Civic State

John O'Neill

Foreword

In 1965 George Grant warned Canadians in *Lament for a Nation* that abandonment of tradition and common intent threatened the future of our nationhood. Canada could not persist if doctrines of autonomy, limited government, and submission to market forces were to prevail.

> No small country can depend for its existence on the loyalty of capitalists. International interests may require the sacrifice of the lesser loyalty of patriotism. Only in dominant nations is the loyalty of capitalists ensured. In such situations, their interests are tied to the strength and vigour of their empire. (69–70)

We are compelled to care about the well-being and prospects of other peoples' children as a condition of preserving our nationhood. If the value placed on national life recedes, displaced by an ethos of autonomy and dissociation, our relations with children and each other change profoundly. Children lose their collective status, and are no longer the ancestral and progenitorial bond of national continuity. Instead, they become private presences whose entry into the world is occasioned by the pursuit of private fulfilment. The child of choice becomes the responsibility of the adults who choose. The life quality and

life chances for children increasingly reflect the arbitrary fortuities of family origins and biogenetic endowments.

With the decline of national concern for the well-being of children and youth, society is becoming a state arena for the protection and promotion of private interests. Other peoples' children now acquire the dissociated designations of 'resource' or 'risk.' As human resources, children are inducted and moulded into assets for productivity with the promise of private rewards for those who can provide the highest returns to employers in the global economy. Through risk assessment, clinicians promise early-warning systems to identify 'damaged' children of limited capital value, who are quickly inserted into the public economy of containment – treated, streamed, incarcerated, and eventually relegated to adult lives on the margins of domestic life. Youth of modest capabilities, earnest but not gifted, no longer find a middle world of basic comfort and security that accommodated the previous generation. Instead, as family providers, their prospects will depend upon contingent cycles of opportunity and vulnerability, periodically perched on the peripheries of the global economy or alternatively hovering above marginal subsistence.

It is nearly thirty years later, and George Grant's forebodings have become manifest in the political, intellectual, and fiscal depletion of the Canadian nation. Public confidence in the credibility of political authority has been denigrated through persistent portrayals of governments as corrupt, bloated, and inept. Advocates of popular sovereignty on both the left and the right, having discredited public institutions as bureaucratic and élite, insist on the higher legitimacy of raw sentiments crafted through polling and media coverage in defining the public good. The resistance of Canadians over the past two decades to paying the full cost of public programs has fuelled high interest charges on accumulated debts, and now paralyses the ability of governments in Canada to sustain current commitments and to act on emerging social requirements.

Nowhere is the incipient decline of Canadian nationhood more evident than in the neglect of the next generation. Canada has one of the highest rates of child poverty in the industrialized world, with nearly one in five children growing up under conditions of deprivation and exclusion. Young adults embarking on family formation and prospective parenthood face chronic levels of unemployment and underemployment, increasingly unable to establish basic foundations of economic sufficiency and security essential to sustain the commitments of family life. In the face of declining circumstances, we have been unable to mobilize national will to extend public support to families. To the contrary, billions of dollars have been removed from public contributions for the care of children since the late seventies, justified by the exigencies of fiscal debt and new doctrines of limited collective responsibility.

The industrialized countries of western Europe have also experienced stagnant economies and labour markets because of global restructuring. But they recognized the need to improve national supports to families with children. Family-allowance and child-benefit provisions have been increased to compensate for declining family wages. Child-support systems now recognize a collective responsibility to protect the living standards of children during periods of parental separation by means of public advances of private support payments. Child-care services have been expanded to stimulate the healthy development of young children and to support parental access to employment. European policies to support families recognize that collective contributions for the care of children are essential to national vitality.

The missing child in John O'Neill's essay reflects the loss of public will to sustain Canadian nationhood. Submission to market-generated values, perspectives, and imperatives has limited the scope of public options to care for children and sustain national continuity. O'Neill does not offer us a lament

on the prospective disappearance of Canada. Instead, he issues a call to recast the ground of public discourse on the collective status of children and to recover Canadian traditions of common intent essential to sustain our nationhood into the next century.

O'Neill challenges contractarian precepts of the child, family, community, and the state as incompatible with an ethos of social care and continuity. A society that privatizes responsibility for the well-being of children treats families as social adversaries in competition for the polarized rewards of a market society. The state ceases to embody the principles of common intent, but is reduced to the role of mediator of private interests and intervenor to contain family risk and public instability. Police and prisons become the new imperatives of public spending, at the same time that fiscal virtue dictates that the provision of national staples such as schools, health care, and social insurances are pruned and privatized.

Liberal concepts of the individual as the primary unit of social experience place children in precarious states of vulnerability and risk in their daily lives. Families emerge as aggregates of autonomous individuals, whose stability and persistence are subject to the fulfilment of adult needs. Each participant, including the child, holds a growing portfolio of rights to be invoked during periods of distress or dissolution. Social and legal advocates can protect children from domestic abuse and violation, and can represent them at wardship and custody hearings. But they are powerless to assure the child of committed and caring family relations essential to healthy development. The world of individualized family life wedded to the contractarian ethos of market relations leads to a national life of minimalism, with reciprocity reduced to the calculus of advantage (utility) and the adjudication of claims (justice).

O'Neill proposes that we question prevailing assumptions of personhood. Children are born into the social membership of families and nations, whose traditions and commitments shape

their life prospects. Children inherit the conditions of their sustenance and in turn are expected as adults to guard and enhance the bestowal of legacies to succeeding generations. These are not the market relations of trade and contract but the civic ties of transmission and covenant. O'Neill contends that deep layers of intergenerational responsibility and relation are at the foundation of nationhood, essential to the healthy development of children, and are recovered through an understanding of the civic commons.

O'Neill weaves the collective and personal dimensions of his civic perspective throughout the essay. The civic covenant is the affirmation and enactment over time of ties of mutual endowment and shared destiny animating all levels of social life. The covenantal child enters the world as the embodiment of legacy and continuity, in whose life resides the value of presence and passage. The covenant is rarely spoken, but is observed at milestone moments and affirmed through institutional and communal experiences and the daily enactment of family practices. Children in the civic commons grow up with assurances that other people care about their lives.

Families, communities, enterprises, and institutions are the embedded domains of the civic commons, the permeating social layers of the life world. Each domain makes a distinctive and essential contribution to national intent and vitality. In contrast to liberal views of pluralism, the domains are not autonomous sectors competing for advantage or national domination. The civic state is the stewardly presence in the commons affirming national values, sustaining public institutions, assuring the availability of basic staples, investing in economic capacity, and strengthening the generativity of each civic domain. The commons can accommodate diversity, including the presence of an active market sector, if there is a business class with loyalties to national vitality, committed and willing to contribute to civic life. Threatening to remove capital, export jobs, or leave the country if national policies do not

submit to the advancement of business interests is incompatible with the ethos of the civic commons, and undermines the prospects for Canadian continuity.

O'Neill argues that the vital political question for Canada rests on whether we will recover the tradition of the commons, and survive, or fade as a nation and become a regional territory in the global market.

> What we must do in Canada is to understand that the liberal ideology has relocated itself in the global market and then we must reaffirm our own covenant ideology. We must refurnish the civic commons in our own response as a global people whose welfare is larger than its market assessment and whose accommodation of diversity among families, communities, religions, and schools is rooted in our historical and political will to survivance. In this covenant we are collected but not collectivized. The promise of Canada is personal not private; we answer it through one another because each of us has enjoyed the trust of every other and none is either above or beneath the civic condition we hold in common. (107)

This essay was commissioned by the Laidlaw Foundation of Toronto as a contribution to the work of its Children at Risk Programme. The Laidlaw Foundation has committed a significant portion of its resources over this decade to the development of new perspectives and strategies to advance the well-being of children in Canada, with a special concern for children growing up under conditions of economic deprivation, familial dislocation, and historical exclusion. As a result of research, consultations, and field projects of the program, the sources of risk to children have come to be understood as collective in origin, rooted in our inabilities to create national and local conditions conducive to the healthy development of children. It is not only the traditionally disadvantaged who are

at risk, but growing numbers of the next generation who are vulnerable to lives of despair and diminished prospects.

The new conditions of risk flow from the loss of national commitments to children and family life, and the development of remedial rather than preventive approaches to care and support. The Laidlaw program has understood the need to examine the intellectual and cultural foundations governing our collective relations with children and our response to their circumstances. Dominant perspectives, sometimes designated as paradigms, shape commitments and strategies. As a result, conceptual elaboration has emerged as a vital dimension of Laidlaw work.

The program has adopted a life-chance perspective on child development to acquire a more comprehensive understanding of how forces and factors over time shape the well-being of children. This approach benefits from the findings of longitudinal studies that describe the ways in which converging clusters of environmental influence and personal capabilities determine how children proceed and progress through important periods of social change. Predictable transitions for children include the conditions of gestation and birth, the early years of active development, learning readiness to start school, the establishment of peer relations, movement through secondary education, and first experiences in the labour market. Less-predictable transitions can include family separation, the loss of parental employment, removal from the family of origin to surrogate care, an unexpected pregnancy, or conflict with the law.

Life assets are influences and capabilities that help children proceed proficiently through the expectations and experiences of transitions. Liabilities are forces and factors that hinder the process of transition and propel children into negative pathways of reduced life quality and diminished prospects. Life-chance perspectives focus on the public and private endowments of children and the social configurations of their assets

and liabilities as they proceed through the developmental progressions of the life course.

John O'Neill's essay is the first in a series of Laidlaw publications to elaborate life-chance perspectives. He delineates the precarious prospects for children in a society of privatized endowments. A second essay in progress will define the co-requisites of life chances and examine civic approaches to the endowment of children. Monographs planned for the series include a review of the community-systems approach to social support for children and families, and a description of current work on social-indicator development.

MARVYN NOVICK*
13 June 1994

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Developing a Covenant of Care for the New Millenium: Keynote Presentation to the Catholic Press Association (1996)

Commentary by: Robert Glossop

Close to a quarter of a century ago, Marvyn Novick spoke to journalists and reminded his audience that we are all under a moral obligation to choose our words well. Not just our words but our topics too and the frames of reference we employ and the evidence we discover to make our case. Way back then, Marvyn wrote about the responsibility of the 'media' to bring hard truths to bear upon our private and public decisions. He was well aware of how our individual appetites and fears are manipulated by corporate advertising and political messaging in the service of a global political economy that succeeds only by pitting one group against the other: the interests of old against the young, of the short-term present against the future, a future that will be inhabited not by us but by our children and their children and their children.

Marvyn spoke to a group of assembled journalists and reminded them that the media creates or fails to create the 'moral space' within which citizens can reflect upon how we all draw upon the collective resources of the communities and societies in which we live and how we all owe a debt to the investment that others have made in us. It is all too popular these days to criticise the 'mainstream media' as the purveyors of so-called 'fake news.' To be sure, Marvyn was highly critical of the media for having failed in its obligations to inform and, yes, even educate us, the citizenry, about: how much tax Canadians pay relative to the citizens of other advanced economies; equally important, what taxpayers get for the taxes they pay; and, last but not least, the skewed distribution of government expenditures that favour those who need it least over those who need it most. Marvyn did not dismiss nor condemn the 'mainstream media' as "the enemy of the people." He criticised it because of what he perceived to be its failure to fulfil its essential role as a tool of the people.

Marvyn was ahead of his time. And to be sure, there is good purpose in reading today what this prescient teacher, talented and lucid writer, committed activist and public intellectual wrote years ago. In this short speech, Professor Novick reminds us that what we today call the ecological determinants of health are simply the places – families, schools, arts venues, communities and public institutions of health care and civic engagement – that nurture us – or not. In these few short pages, he doesn't just describe but also explains what lies behind the persistence of child poverty: he examines the diminished purchasing power of wages such that family incomes can be sustained

only by a greater dedication of family time to paid employment; he decries the erosion of our commitment to the government's role to protect the universal benefits that had been, since the inception of the welfare state, the means with which we would care for one another; and, he laments that the covenant between generations is threatened because children are now thought of as the sole responsibility of their parents within 'villages' that have abdicated their responsibility to nurture both the parents and children to whom the future belongs. As such, he accomplishes a lot in a few short pages.

It is worth repeating that for Marvyn it is our duty to children and to the children they shall bear that is fundamental. This inter-generational commitment is not negotiable. We do not make a contract with the children who will someday take our place. Instead, we must come to know, deep down inside, that to be human is to know that our time here is limited and that our duty is to care for those who come after us as well as this place we bequeath to them. When Marvyn writes about the covenant of care that exists between the young and the old, he insists that all of us in our roles as neighbours, fellow workers, employers, corporate investors and as citizens have an obligation to commit ourselves not just to the most efficient means with which to accomplish short-term goals and profits but instead to a vision of communities in which it is acknowledged - in both word and deed, in policy and practice – that we depend upon one another. Marvyn knows that, as he says, "The lead agents in generating the covenant of care will have to come from the institutions of civic life. That means all of us. It will require alliances, movements, but most importantly a shift in practices. If we remain addicted to the trafficking of market life, then our professions of care will be betrayed by our desires. We will continue to abandon the young. That is why the challenge is as much cultural as it is structural."

I and many others miss Marvyn and, I think, especially so now as we struggle to distil the essential lessons to be derived from this era of Covid19. Back in 1996, he observed: "In Ontario, in the midst of severe reductions to essential public services such as primary education, libraries, health care, public transit, social housing, post-secondary education, we are rewarded with tax cuts" that serve the interests of the few." To be sure, prior to the pandemic, governments espousing a neo-liberal agenda were often elected on the premise that governments and their spending and rules and regulations and their efforts to manage the lives we live together were the problem. Governments were, we were told, unnecessarily meddling in the lives of their individual citizens. Ironically, the very same governments who promised to reduce the scale of government are the very same governments that now have had to, for the public good, restrict our travels, mandate our personal behaviours, and assume public debt in order to reduce the massive number of private tragedies embedded in the stories of failed small businesses, personal bankruptcies, unpaid rents, overtaxed food banks, squandered dreams and, finally, lost loved ones.

For a year now, our public health officials and our elected representatives of whichever political persuasion have told us that "We are all in this together." Marvyn did not need a pandemic to understand this fact of life. I do wish that he were still with us to help us capture and preserve this essential lesson and to help us strike an agenda that acknowledges that human agency, human freedoms in fact, do not reside in us as atomised individuals separate and apart from one another. Like him, we need to understand that we are bound together by a covenant that rests not just on the dignity

of the individual but, as Immanuel Levinas, one of Marvyn's mentors taught, on the dignity of the 'other'.

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M Novick
96.09.25 IRI

Catholic Press Association (Canada, U.S.) - Midwest and East Regional Conference Keynote Presentation Outline

Developing a Covenant of Care for the New Millennium

I will base my presentation on:

- national policy work in the last ten years on child poverty in Canada;
- perspectives developed through project work with the Children at Risk Programme of the Laidlaw Foundation in Toronto;
- research for my own publication in progress on pathways to civic society.

The Historical Moment

Eric Hobsbawm [1994] has defined the twentieth century as an age of extremes - prosperity and depression, or emancipation and exclusion. The same economies that raised living standards for masses of people, could also strip people of their livelihoods and create widespread dislocation and insecurity. Cultures of enlightenment and civility contained within them demons of brutality and massacre, ready to surface and perform before receptive publics.

Legacies of the twentieth century - unprecedented peaks of progress, unprecedented scales of barbarism. No greater sense today than 100 years ago of what defines the human condition. Tendencies for benevolence and evil to co-exist and persist. Progress has been in the enhancement of capacities to project either tendency onto the world at unprecedented speeds, and with unprecedented impacts. The technological marvels of mobility and communication are in the end accelerators of tendencies, but they offer us no assurances as to which tendency will prevail. In contrast to the hope with which the last century ended, we enter the next age chastened with cynicism. We can no longer place our trust in technological capacity alone, and in the systems from which they are generated.

Capacities do not have a life of their own - they have a home, a culture, institutions, and projects to which they are attached. Capacities are located in places. As we end this century, it is our places that are in decay, nowhere more evident in North America than in our neglect and abandonment of the young. The pursuit of technological capacity across the globe is accompanied by a deinvestment in social capacity at home. At the public level, we are deinvesting in families, schools, the arts, health care,

public service employment. Within the economy, we are deinvesting in workers – eliminating tenure, depressing wages, and squandering talent. We are depleting our domestic places of care and opportunity for the young.

ln Canada, we have one of the worst records in the western world of assuring decent living standards for all of our young:

- cyclical rates of child poverty that are second highest in industrialized countries;
- a disturbing polarization of family incomes over the last decade > the 40/60 market split;
- modest and median income families that are stretched and stressed; average at 70+ hours in the labor market for dual earner families; for medians in the last decade, 8% + increase in labor market hours, to bring home around 8% less in real income;
- diminished public protection and support for the bottom half of families with children:
    - deindexation of transfers to families with children; losses cumulative @ 10% over 5 years;
    - erosion of unemployment insurance for family providers who lose their jobs; decline of coverage since 1990 from 60%+ of the unemployed to less than 40%; drive unemployed family providers onto social assistance;
    - loss of national protection for the poor in Canada through the delegation of social assistance responsibilities to provincial authorities: importation of the flawed and discredited workfare model in which parents are coerced into the worst labour market since the depression to survive on subsistence employment.

ln Ontario - in the midst of severe reductions to essential public services such as primary education, libraries, health care, public transit, social housing, post secondary education, we are rewarded with tax cuts that will amount to $6 billion over three years [$15 billion - scaled to Canada; X 10 - U.S.l.

At the same time, when Canadians are surveyed on their core values (EKOS, 1994), a significant majority profess a commitment to goals of social equality, redistribution, an active role for governments in promoting the public good. The responses of corporate and public decision makers is at variance with the majority - they stress limited government, and a focus on competitiveness.

What are the structural forces, and what is the cultural logic, which propel our current approaches and course of action ? Are these forces, and is this logic, inherent to our future or can they become historically conditioned through common initiative? On a more human dimension, what prospects and destinies will we bequeath to our young, and they to theirs?

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Structural forces: the global dimension

The twentieth century can be seen as a transitional period between two waves of western capitalism.

First wave: *domestic industrial capitalism*

- sourced in national economies [location of productive capacities]; resourced in defined global domains through the imperial capacities of the home nation state.
- sustained through the creation of mass domestic markets of consumer demand; if Marx's reserve army of workers became superfluous for production at certain stages of the business cycle, intelligent capitalists [Ford, Filene] understood that they were clearly essential as consumers to sustain demand and contribute to the margins of surplus.
- Conceptually and operationally, there were no economically redundant parts of the population. Mass domestic consumption required both workers with decent wages, and the unemployed with sustaining incomes - at the heart of Keynesian economics.
- in short, first wave capitalism was burdened with profound national dependencies, with a stake in civic order and mass living standards, and a recognition of the need to contribute to the public good through philanthropy and taxes.

Second wave: global corporate capitalism

- technological capacities for multi sourcing and resourcing in a host of national economies; the emergence of productive capacities and capital accumulation in former imperial domains;
- sustained through the creation of niche global markets of effective demand
  [Review the concept of niche markets, the emergence of domestic redundancies, and link to the strategic shift in the adoption of supply side economicsl;
- second wave capitalism is less dependent on the resources and people of any given nation; it relies more on maintaining a global theatre of territories and bases essential to its operations.
- reliance on the home nation is now more limited to headquarter requirements:
  - corporate system supports [finance, law, accounting, marketing, incubation]
  - proximity to intellectual sources of innovation [technology, management, design]
  - global protection services of home governments [trade regimes, foreign confiscation, currency stability]
- contributions to the public good are now recast as enhancements to corporate image; unlimited ability to finance a host of prestige fa-cilities and events [Olympics], all the while pleading diminished capacity to contribute public revenue for essential social programs.

First wave capitalism required an active state to realize its capacities for raising mass living standards. Governments introduced legislation which recognized the role of labor unions in assuring working people of fair compensation and job security. The welfare state created social insurances to protect people from

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the erratic cycles and practices of domestic capitalism, and provided basic public services essential for human development and civic order.

The advent of second wave capitalism has been accompanied by strategies designed to deplete the capacities of governments to assume critical social roles. Popular confidence in public management and democratic governance has been eroded. People view public taxes as private confiscation. Public services are replaced with commercial provision, The lnternational Monetary Fund in its world economic outlook report of May'96 laid out a privatization agenda for governments that includes health care, pensions, post secondary education, and even parts of secondary education.

Young people face a future in which global corporations have diminished loyalties to their economic well being, and governments are less capable of promoting their social well being.

Cultural Climates: The Domestic Dimension

The twentieth century implants the modern ethos into western life. This promotes social emancipation from traditional social, moral, and aesthetic orders. Grounded in:

- revolutionary movements which see the family as a feudal relic;
- the application of scientific methods to the study of human and social development;
- the advent of mass communications promoting new consumer tastes and styles.

Relies on liberal concepts of enlightenment, sovereignty, and utility

- an enlightenment based on empirical knowledge is by its very nature contingent; no universals except the media through which contingent knowledge is pursued; an easy road to the terminal world of post modernism;
- sovereignty introduces principles of consent into all forms of social engagement; comes to be translated as the power to determine the conditions of entry and the assurance of exit in every domain of human relations; proprietary claim to personhood > I own myself; enables the consumer role to be invested with ontological authenticity;
- utility divides well-being into discreet units of needs, wants, and positional advantages [Hirsch]; technological and design innovations perpetually generate new worlds of marginal utility; limitless and without thresholds of sufficiency; consumption is now accelerated through advancing tomorrow's income for today's satisfaction; extraordinary growth of private debt; a life of consumer dependency.

The liberal ethos of the twentieth century has served both waves of capitalism quite effectively. lt is their inextricable link. In the period of mass domestic markets, it legitimates consumption which breaks

with traditional sanctions. ln the global era of diminishing domestic opportunities, it establishes positional utility as the reward for competitive merit.

My colleague John O'Neill, in his 1994 book on *The Missing Child in Liberal Theory* [part of the Laidlaw Foundation publication series], contends that the contractual ethos of modernism abandons the current generation of young people to a competitive life of privilege and risk [21]. Lt strips social relations of commitment and continuity. It fosters a way of life in which social claims are maximized and collective responsibilities are minimized. Efficiency in the pursuit of utility celebrates the lowest input [cost] for the highest return [benefit], and prescribes disposal [labor shedding] when human costs limit the size of the surplus.

ln the foreword to John's book, I observe that children have become "private presences whose entry into the world is occasioned by the pursuit of private fulfillment. The child of choice becomes the responsibility of the adults who choose." [vii-viii] Young people face a future in which responsibility for their well being is increasingly privatized, at the same time as the public penalties for social failure grow ever more severe.

The first wave liberal culture of indulgence enjoyed by an older generation is now transformed into second wave retribution against the young. Utility has come to mean expanded protection from the social risks presented by the young [zero tolerance, three strikes, state executions]; sovereignty justifies withdrawal into suburban enclaves and gated communities [zones of immunity; and empirical knowledge is increasingly directed to clinical strategies of containment [the economy of disorders and interventions]. The young and their families are not worthy of investment and care, and in any event “we can’t afford it", and 'they don’t deserve it".

A Covenant of Care

Politically and culturally, we live in states of dissonance. The imperatives of second wave capitalism lead to public policies of retrenchment [always with the promise of an imminent golden era]. The corporate media demonize the vulnerable as the architects of their own misery [poverty as deviance and dependency; the unemployed as unskilled] from whom we require social distance and financial protection. All the while, there remains in Canada persistent expressions of common core values that speak to other priorities and other approaches to well being.

This dissonance remains a source of hope as we move into the next era. lt lacks expression, focus, and leadership. The project of civic society is an attempt to locate the places in which core values can be expressed and enacted - in families, communities/settlements, workplaces, and public institutions. lt is less about prescribing civil conduct, and more about generating social commitments to cultivate environments of significance in our lives. Cultivation requires investment and contribution, affirmed responsibility rather than coerced obligation. To draw from a familiar precept – it is a preferential option for the endowment of every life as worthy of investment and care, as talented and capable of

making a contribution to the common good, over a regime of enforcement to process competition for scarce places, certify winners, and contain losers.

The draft social mission of the Laidlaw Foundation [August 1996J, for the next phase of its work on the prospects of young people, outlines a framework of social responsibility for civic life. "Creating and sustaining civic life requires all the institutions of society to pitch in and become engaged. The institutions of society include families, communities, governments, and workplaces. Each institution must contribute, separately and together, to strengthening the conditions of well being and assuring a place of standing and worth for all people. Strong voluntary associations are an important oontribution to civic life, but they are not enough. For example, in Canada, medicare, income security programs, and equalization of tax resources for public services are national commitments that make an essential contribution to sustaining civic life. They are a living reflection of core Canadian values."

This then is the covenant of care - the entry into commitment by each institution to invest and contribute over an extended period of time to the conditions of well being, across and within the generations of the life cycle. lt is a call for a culture of reciprocity and responsibility, in which the purposes of wealth are to cultivate capacities and furnish places for each to contribute to a common life in which the promise is [to cite John O'Neill: 107] "personal not private", "collected but not collectivized", and in which "each of us has enjoyed the trust of the other".

ls the call for a covenant of care iust another utopian [no place] indulgence, a well intentioned but naive mission - without any prospects for acceptance or realization in the hard dynamics of the secular world? Let us examine what some concrete implications might be if the covenant were pursued.

1. As societies and nations, we would need to develop ways in which people can express themselves on what really counts in their lives. Market polling and surveys monitor choices without providing options. Rarely are people asked to state life priorities for which they are prepared to invest and contribute. We urgently need to generate social indicators of well being which capture and place before us what is essential and compelling in our lives.
2. Families would pursue a similar internal process of revaluation. These are tough times for family budgets. One way to deal with this is to add more job hours to protect income levels - but in pursuit of what material standard of living. lf lot and house size are essential to well being, or if cars must have every convenience, then thls will shape family time patterns. These are not easy issues to address, but ones that churches and other cultural groups can help people explore.
3. ln Canada, we would need a new approach to work in public services particularly at the local level. This would require a deindustrialization of collective agreements, compensation levels for all forms of public service work that are referenced to income levels in the civic rather than the corporate world; and the adoption of explicit community mandates and practices by schools, social agencies, libraries, recreation centers, public health"

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4. Our sense of community would return to its original sense that included all who contributed and had a stake in its well being. Community is more than the residents who inhabit an area, and should welcome as full participants churches, service clubs, local businesses, cultural associations and societies, and public service workers such as teachers and police who stretch themselves beyond what is prescribed in their job descriptions.
5. Corporations would be asked to demonstrate their civic attachments in ways that make a difference, such as providing positive first job experiences for young people or a single parent, without awaiting public handouts for training or wages. Less funding of events, less solicitations from every cause, and more creation of sustaining opportunities for people. Corporations would be expected to enhance internal workplace practices, to recognize the responsibilities of family life. As well, the development of independent social audits to report regularly on comparative corporate performance would be encouraged and extended.
6. Finally, there would be a need to put the issues of social investments and public revenue squarely before people in a way that sidelines the demagoguery and distortions that inevitably intrude on discussions of taxation. We will require life cycle funds to assure the living standards of young people and their families, create opportunities for full participation in traditional lobs and civic work, and provide frameworks of security and support for older people. ln addition, as private incomes remain steady or decline somewhat, there will be common staples that are best provided through public management - health care, cultural stimulation. Both Canadians, and especially Americans, are at the low ends of taxation in western countries. Are the issues of tax resistance ones of trust, for which designated assessments would enhance transparency; is the debate too heavily focused on redistribution in which case large numbers of people believe somebody else should pay; or are a majority of people prepared to sacrifice public goods to maximize consumption at whatever the social cost.

There is now a new international intelligence that provides support for the project of a civic society founded on a covenant of care.

- New intelligence on economic vitality - World Economic Forum [social cohesion; the two Economies]; Putnarn on social capital; endogenous economics on the dynamics of innovation
- New intelligence on population health [Wilkinson, Sen] - beyond a threshold of sufficiency for basic needs, the reduction of disparities more conducive to enhancements of social well being than increments of growth.

Social cohesion is the essential domestic foundation for generating and sustaining the conditions of well being in the era of global corporate capitalism. It means limited income disparities, the healthy development of all children [we need everyone's talents and capacities], full social participation [a place of worth for all], and intergenerational endowment and trust [the condition of social investment].

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The primary message from this presentation is that there are national options to place before people. With options, moral space is created. We no longer must surrender our faculties to the imperatives and logic which are imposed upon us. However, there will never be moral space if the public must rely on the mainstream media. ln Canada, we have a national corporate press that has gone from reporting the news to making the news. We have never had an honest accounting of the fiscal deficit crisis, nor any comparative framework to judge the performance of public institutions in Canada. lrregularities which are disrnissed as exceptions in the business sector, are branded as inherent when it comes to the work of governments [the rotten apple, the rotten barrel]. Commercial radio is filled with hosts who earn ratings by vilifying the vulnerable.

For moral space to emerge, organizational and local media will have to make a contribution. The Catholic press is well positioned to reach important audiences. lt is not enough to proclaim commitment - it must be demonstrated in the willingness to bring people hard economic and social information with moral significance. How many of you have placed tax issues before your readers? How many have sought and reported the findings of serious research studies on the labor market experiences of people on welfare? This is not an indictment, since I do not know the answers. I do suspect however that without an enhance-ment of economic and social literacy, it will be hard for people to develop the moral and cultural capacities to pursue the common good.

The project for the start of the next century will be to reclaim our civic places, and revitalize them with care. The young are not the only subjects of care, but they mirror our capacities and commitments for care. Who will be the lead agents in the project of civic reclamation? ln first wave capitalism, a political proletariat emerged as an emancipatory formation. Who might the second wave agents be?

It is not as yet clear. ln some worlds, as in Quebec and among Aboriginal peoples, national movements proclaim a project of reclamation. Historically, building a national home fueled social advances in countries such as Sweden when depopulation through emigration in the twenties threatened to deplete the country. ln other countries, building the national home has meant eliminating racial and cultural differences.

For me, the civic dimension is morally essential in any project to build a national home. The civic begins with a place and not a people - it seeks to express and create common conditions of care for all who have staked their lives in a common environment, The civic stands for the principle of inclusion. lt can celebrate and accommodate diversity, if by diversity we mean variation and not separate identities. Within differences, it assumes that there are cores of our lives that we can share in common - aspirations, passions, reflections. The civic struggles with the dialectics of recognition and engagement - recognition of historical and affinity cultures, engagement in the creation of a common secular culture. lf either is diminished, then the civic is transformed into a ghetto or a collective.

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The lead agents in generating the covenant of care will have to come from the institutions of civic life. That means all of us. lt will require alliances, movements, but most importantly a shift in practices. lf we remain addicted to the trafficking of market life, then our professions of care will be betrayed by our desires. We will continue to abandon the young. That is why, the challenge is as much cultural as it is structural.

l close with a wish. lf Hobsbawm sees the twentieth century as an age of extremes, could we now lay the foundations for a twenty-first century that historians might come to call an age of reconciliation.

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Crossroads for Canada: A Time to Invest in Children and Families (1996)

Commentary by: Anita Khanna and Laurel Rothman

In *Crossroads for Canada,* Marvyn Novick anticipated the negative effects of the now staggering income inequality that first captured the world's attention in 2011 when the Occupy movement erupted, building to the critical situation of many service workers in the COVID-19 pandemic. Published in 1996 by Campaign 2000, the cross-Canada coalition to end child and family poverty in Canada which Marvyn had co-founded, *Crossroads* set out the grim results of what is now known as precarious work and the erosion of Canada's tax base. The tone is at once hopeful about improving children's lives through sound policy choices, and foreboding - warning that Canada should avoid the direction that would bring all the division and despair known in Britain and the United States. It emphasized that taking the path of low wages and low taxes would compromise healthy growth and development of children from birth through young adulthood. It called for Canada to improve the child benefit system and laid the groundwork for changes introduced in 1998 with the National Child Benefit Supplement.

The release of *Crossroads* followed then Finance Minister Paul Martin's shattering 1995 federal budget which ended the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) and massively cut transfers to the provinces for social welfare and post-secondary education. Communities across Canada suffered directly from reduced funding and some broad public sentiment to 'get our economic house in order' promoted by conservative entities such as the Fraser Institute. Community activists, direct service providers and workers, service users, faith communities and unions among others, actively opposed these extensive funding cuts and sought to reverse them. The introduction of the Canada Social Transfer, a major transfer of federal funds to the provinces intended to replace CAP, did not define a strong federal role in moderating the use of transfer funds. Campaign 2000 members remained insistent on the need for a robust federal government role in establishing principles for and monitoring the use of transfer funds.

Amidst this tumultuous time for social programs, the main messages in *Crossroads* were bold and brave. When *Crossroads* called for increased public funding for social welfare it was one of the first, if not the first, national group to dare to move in that direction while the anti-deficit slayers continued to push loudly for more tax cuts. *Crossroads* stressed the importance of public funding, public policies and the intergenerational reciprocity needed to provide a healthy mix of income security measures and quality public services that would significantly reduce child and family poverty and enhance the life chances of all children. In addition, *Crossroads* projected the costs of substantial additional public

investments and identified potential sources of funds to pay for them. The use of the term 'social investment' was purposeful and an effort to emphasize that public spending is valuable and has benefits to all of us in contrast to the prevailing discourse of it being wasteful and a drain on the economy.

Crossroads received broad coverage in the media across Canada. Most articles highlighted the stunning statistics of child poverty and put forth the proposals in *Crossroads* as credible. Numerous editorials, including in the Globe and Mail and four consecutive ones in the Toronto Star, echoed the call to action outlined in *Crossroads* and emphasized the need for both more jobs with better wages and a robust social safety net.

When Campaign 2000 had the opportunity to brief then Finance Minister Paul Martin on the *Crossroads* report, the delegation was impressed that he had read the entire report, made comments on his copy and asked many specific questions. In a subsequent in-depth interview with the Ottawa Citizen, Martin proclaimed that "child poverty is the great social policy challenge of this generation," securing a central place for the issue on the radar screen of the media and the public. (Mark Kennedy. "Martin vows to help poor children." January 10, 1997. P.A1.) That first meeting led to many meetings over Martin's years as finance minister and subsequent increases to the National Child Benefit Supplement which Martin introduced in 1998. We learned that being bold and taking well-supported, strong positions on social issues can have an impact.

Crossroads was foundational to Campaign 2000's continued advocacy and research to improve child benefits and supports for low and modest income families. In 2012, we published a child benefit proposal that contributed to the development of the Canada Child Benefit introduced in 2015, which is now received by 90% of families with children in Canada. Re-reading *Crossroads* reminds us to continue to advocate broadly and persistently for the full package of initiatives: decent work, universally accessible childcare, health and mental health supports, crisis supports, affordable housing, and fully accessible public services to ensure that all children in Canada truly thrive. As Canada confronts the results of COVID-19 on families, workplaces and the weakened social safety net, Campaign 2000 continues to press for a broad range of improvements that will strengthen the recovery and ensure that the country does not return to the previous, unacceptable normal in which too many children and families still lived in poverty.

Crossroads reminds us that the goal of our advocacy must be social transformation and to resist anything less. Its clearly laid out plan of action continues to guide social movements today and into the future.

Anita Khanna was the National Coordinator of Campaign 2000: End Child Poverty in Canada from 2015 to 2019; Laurel Rothman was the National Coordinator of Campaign 2000 from 1998 to 2015.

An excerpt from Crossroads for Canada follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/crossroads-for-canada-1996rev

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CROSSROADS FOR CANADA: A TIME TO INVEST IN CHILDREN AND FAMILIIES

Campaign 2000 Discussion Paper

Canada has the second highest rate of child poverty in the industrialized world. It is a stinging reminder that we have failed to strike a balance between putting our financial affairs in order and caring for families.

The persistence of child poverty in Canada is a symptom of declining earnings, high unemployment, and a weak social security system for working families. Growing number of parents are living through the chronic stress of economic hardship, which takes a heavy toll on the stability of home environments. Other parents are stretched and exhausted, with more hours in the labour market just to make ends meet.

Deep social divisions have emerged in the living standards of families, and the gap is likely to widen. At stake is the well-being of our children, and the social cohesion of our nation.

The federal government and the provinces are projecting balanced budgets by the start of the next century. Some segments of the population are demanding lower taxes as a reward for enduring through the difficult period of fiscal retrenchment. General tax cuts disproportionately benefit those who are better off. The emphasis should be placed on alleviating the burdens of working families and young adults who have borne the brunt of spending cuts.

The National Partners of Campaign 2000 believe we must now make social investments in children and family the national priority. A country with the national wealth of Canada cannot continue to ignore child poverty by pleading collective poverty. It is not a credible plea.

We are pessimistic about the prospect of generating needed social investments through increased general government expenditures. A new approach is needed. Canada currently has designated funds from two out of three life-cycle periods – pensions for seniors and unemployment insurance for adults. *This is no designated life cycle fund for children. We propose that, as a nation, we redirect 2-2.5% of GDP to create a social investment fund for children by the next half decade.*

We regard the proposed fund as desirable and achievable – if there is the will to invest in the future of Canada. We are encouraged by the joint initiative of Ottawa and the provinces to reform the child benefit system. We welcome this reform as a downpayment on a comprehensive strategy, but not as a measure sufficient to make major reductions in levels of child poverty and improve the living standards of modest and median income families.

OBJECTIVES OF THE SOCIAL INVESTMENT FUND

1. Create a floor of decent living standards for modest and low-income families.
2. Endow all young children with the stimulation and care for a health start in life.
3. Provide parents with family-time options during formative periods of their children's lives.
4. Protect the living standards of children when parental separation occurs.
5. Assure every academically qualified child in Canada financial access to post-secondary training and studies, without having to incur massive life debts into adulthood.

PRINCIPAL FEATURES

I A COMPREHENSIVE CHILD BENEFIT SYSTEM which would remove 800,000 children from poverty and reduce child poverty levels in Canada by 60%. If we were also able to reduce unemployment levels by 4%, then this would remove another 300,000 children from poverty. With both these measures, we would meet our commitment to honour the 1989 House of Commons Resolution to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000. A comprehensive child benefits system would have three components.

i) An enhanced Basic Child Benefit – would lessen economic hardship for all poor families and bolster the living standards of modest income families.

ii) Family Care Supplement – would remove parents caring full-time for young children and subsistence living on social assistance.

iii) An Advanced Maintenance Payment System for Child Support – would recognize that the living standards of children and women who lose the contributions of a separated earner must be actively protected as are the living standards of workers who lose earnings through unemployment.

II A NATIONAL ENVELOPE FOR PROVINCES TO DEVELOP COMPREHENSIVE EARLY DEVELOPMENT AND CHILD CARE SYSTEMS ACROSS CANADA. We should establish a clear benchmark on what percentage of our national wealth we wish to assign to the healthy development of young children (for example, 0.5% - 1% GDP), and develop a multi-year plan.

III A NATIONAL YOUTH EDUCATION ENDOWMENT PLAN which would tell every young person, particularly those from working families, that if they succeed in high school and qualify for a recognized post-secondary full-time program, a $20 000 endowment would be set aside to support their education. Eligibility for the endowment would be related to the family income of students.

FINANCING THE FUND

1. Government Contributions – preserve current expenditure levels in areas to be supported by the fund.

2. Personal Contributions – a designated progressive assessment on gross income.

3. Corporate Contributions – should rely heavily on special capital taxes with appropriate exemptions for small business.

Canada is once more at a crossroads. We cannot afford to have a generation grow up in poverty, and a country split into haves and have-nots. Sound fiscal management requires us to consolidate where beneficial, and invest where essential. This is the time to invest and rebuild.

To order a copy of Crossroads for Canada, the 40-page Discussion Paper, please contact Ms. Liyu Guo, Campaign 2000 Publications, c/o Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto, 355 Church St., Toronto, Ont., M5B 1Z8, call her at (416) 595-9230 ext. 244 or fax your order at (416) 595-0242.

Summoned to Stewardship: Make Poverty Reduction a Collective Legacy (2007)

Commentary by: Sid Frankel

In a discussion about the neoliberal preference for tax reductions in Rosalie Chappell's (2014: 108) widely read text, *Social Welfare in Canadian Society,* she makes the following reference to *Summoned to Stewardship:*

According to policy expert Marvyn Novick (2007) "If communities of inclusion and opportunity are what Canadians want, then we have to be willing to create a better balance between money in our pockets and money we pool together for what we value in common."

Ms. Chappell uses the quotation in a manner which shows that she understands its importance. These few sentences and the larger document from which they come are carefully framed to change the channel on the neoliberal narrative about taxation imposing a burden, and indeed, punishment on "hard working Canadians." This narrative was constructed by neoliberals as self-evident and beyond challenge. The state was externalized as an active interest group imposing a burden on defenseless, passive Canadians, for no better reason than to feed the Leviathan and its liberal and socialist friends.

This narrative is challenged at every turn in *Summoned to Stewardship.* No, the state is not an external force, but a tool that Canadians can use to build a Canada of inclusion and opportunity. So, more than an unfettered market is needed to provide opportunity. No, taxes are not a burden or punishment, but an investment in the kind of Canada we want. Hard working Canadians are not passive recipients of punishment, but active decision makers about how to allocate their resources. Yes, society exists. Canadians are more than a cohort of individuals, each serving his or her self-interest. We have common interests.

Marvyn Novick clearly understood that power can create knowledge, and focused on constructing a counter-discourse, which would de-bunk the neo-liberal orthodoxy. This counter- discourse provided a focus for progressive Canadians to concentrate their power and an opportunity for all Canadians to understand that the neoliberal narrative is not an expression of logic and common sense, but of the interests of the wealthy.

The concept of stewardship is central to this counter-discourse. It means "the careful and responsible management of something entrusted to one's care, such as stewardship

of natural resources" according to the Merriam Webster Dictionary. This tells us that, as Canadians, we have violated a collective trust in letting so many of our fellow Canadians, and especially children, live in poverty, and that this violation threatens our collective legacy as a country. What is summoning us to responsible care of those children entrusted to us? Our better angels. Marvyn Novick is summoning us to assert that we are better than the atomistic narrowly self-interested individuals who appear in the neoliberal narrative.

In addition to changing the channel, *Summoned to Stewardship* is important for at least three other reasons. First, it creates a sense of urgency. Second, it demonstrates that significant poverty reduction can, and indeed, has occurred in some jurisdictions. Third, it sets out a program to operationalize the stewardship.

This document was released in what turned out to be the early days of the hardline Harper neoliberal administration. We had just experienced a transition from the soft neoliberalism of the Chretien and then Martin business Liberals, who took some limited action on child poverty. Things could only get worse, as the cancellation of the Liberal child care agreements with provinces showed they would. In this context *Summoned to Stewardship* was a beacon of hope that was broadly discussed among those interested in poverty reduction. It set out an alternate view that could sustain us through these dark times.

This is why it was attacked by neoliberal editorialists, such as those of the Winnipeg Free Press, who in a September 15, 2007 editorial argued that *Summoned to Stewardship* did not discuss real poverty because it no longer existed in Canada, and that family breakdown was a bigger concern. It is also why it is widely cited in the progressive academic and professional literatures. For example, writing in the Ontario Medical Review the Ontario Physicians' Poverty Working Group (Bloch, Etches. Gardner, Pellizzari, Rachlis, Scott, & Tamari, 2008) recounts the policy principles from *Summoned to Stewardship.*

There are several important lessons that we can learn from this document. The most important focuses on not abandoning our own value-based discourse. *Summoned to Stewardship* does not make the business case for poverty reduction, but makes the ethical case based on an aspirational image of a Canada of opportunity, inclusion and justice. A second lesson relates to the need to inspire hope through linking the ethical argument with examples of successful implementation and a policy agenda. A third lesson relates to the importance of using language in a precise and strategic manner.

Is *Summoned to Stewardship* relevant for today? Unfortunately, it is more relevant than we would have hoped. The recently announced poverty reduction strategy of the federal government (Opportunity for all: Canada's first poverty reduction strategy, 2018) not only measures poverty in too narrow a fashion; but it leaves half of the poor in poverty after 12 years. This is a very stunted application of stewardship responsibilities and must be challenged. The moral vision of this document can help us to mount this challenge.

Beyond this, its policy principles have not been sufficiently implemented and they remain relevant today:

- Every full-time worker with a standard of living above the poverty threshold
- An adequate basic income for persons with disabilities
- Dignified transitional support for children whose parents are available for work
- Available and affordable essential resources to protect family budgets

We have made some progress, but still have not sufficiently exercised our stewardship.

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Sid Frankel, PhD, is a social work professor at the University of Manitoba and steering committee member of Campaign 2000.

An excerpt from Summoned to Stewardship follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/summoned-to-stewardship-2007

Summoned to Stewardship:

MAKE POVERTY REDUCTION A COLLECTIVE LEGACY

CAMPAIGN 2000 POLICY PERSPECTIVES

Prepared by Marvyn Novick

SEPTEMBER 2007

PREFACE
Summoned to Stewardship: Make Poverty Reduction a Collective Legacy

Campaign 2000 Policy Perspectives
Prepared by Marvyn Novick
September 2007

Campaign 2000 is a cross-Canada public education movement to build Canadian awareness and support for the 1989 all-party House of Commons resolution to end child poverty in Canada by the year 2000. Campaign 2000 began in 1991 out of concern about the lack of government progress in addressing child poverty. Campaign 2000 is non-partisan in urging all Canadian elected officials to keep their promise to Canada's children.

The national and community partners of Campaign 2000 support the need for serious consideration and public discussion of the options promoted in this paper. However, the author assumes full professional responsibility for the details of the paper. For a complete listing of Campaign 2000 partners across the country, please refer to the back page for more details.

PREFACE
Summoned to Stewardship: Make Poverty Reduction a Collective Legacy

This paper was prepared by Marvyn Novick, a co-founder of Campaign 2000 and Professor Emeritus, Ryerson University.

Assistance and advice was provided by the following individuals and organizations, including members of the Campaign 2000 Policy Working Group and Steering Committee (in alphabetical order): Greg deGroot-Maggetti of Citizens for Public Justice; Sue Delanoy of Communities for Children: Saskatoon's Planning Council for a Child and Youth Friendly Community; Fiona Douglas of Social Policy Research Unit, University of Regina; Sid Frankel of University of Manitoba Faculty of Social Work and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg; Martha Friendly of Child Care Research and Resource Unit; Alfred Gay of National Association of Friendship Centres; Michael Goldberg of First Call: BC Child and Youth Advocacy Coalition; Randall Hatfield of Human Development Council, New Brunswick; Wayne Helgason of the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Manitoba; Colin Hughes of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto; Andrew Jackson of Canadian Labour Congress; Jacquie Maund of Ontario Campaign 2000 and Family Service Association of Toronto; Adrienne Montani of First Call: BC Child and Youth Advocacy Coalition; Bill Moore-Kilgannon of Public Interest Alberta; Monica Lysack of Child Care Advocacy Association of Canada; Pauline Raven of Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Nova Scotia; Penelope Rowe of Community Services Council, Newfoundland and Labrador; Simon Rosenblum of the Campaign Against Child Poverty; Tara Rudy of the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, Manitoba; Helen Saravanamuttoo of Canadian Association of Social Workers; Darlene Scott of Community Services Council, Newfoundland and Labrador; & Rebecca Siggner of Social Planning and Research Council, British Columbia.

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Also available in French (disponible en français) under the title: INVITATION À LA GESTION : FAIRE DE LA RÉDUCTION DE LA PAUVRETÉ UN LEGS COLLECTIF

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

There is abundant research on the destructive effects of poverty yet government actions in Canada to address child poverty have been erratic, with moments of bold sentiment followed by periods of limited initiative. The 1989 all-party commitment in the House of Commons to work for the elimination of child poverty by 2000 was promising, but was not realized, nor were goals and timetables ever proposed.

Poverty reduction has now become a focus of international attention. Campaign 2000 is calling upon the federal government and provinces to adopt targets and timetables for Canada. We propose provincial governments work with federal partners to realize minimum reductions of 25% in child poverty rates in the province by 2012, and minimum 50% reductions by 2017.

The call for concrete commitment and action to reduce child poverty should be viewed as an overarching non-partisan priority, much in the same way that addressing climate change is now embedded in the political culture of Canada. The cornerstone target across Canada would be to assure every parent working full time, full year a living standard out of poverty. This in itself would meet the minimum 25% reduction target since one-third of all children in poverty live in families where a parent has worked full time, full year.

Poverty reduction is central to Canada's future. Canada is approaching its sesquicentennial in 2017. In the next decade we will be challenged to address the polarization and disparities that have emerged in Canada from weak domestic responses to globalization. Structural deficiencies that negatively affect the most vulnerable—women alone with children, Aboriginal peoples, recent immigrants and refugees—if entrenched in Canada will breed social instability and provoke patterns of civic disengagement.

Under far more difficult circumstances (e.g., high public debt, uncertain economic prospects) Canadians have invested in unemployment insurance, family allowances, adult vocational training, national family housing programs and hospital care insurance. If communities of inclusion and opportunity are what Canadians want, then we have to be willing to create a better balance between individual wealth and pooled wealth for common goals.

High levels of economic growth and prosperity have not led to reductions in structural levels of poverty in Canada. We have received false assurances that the best way to reduce poverty is through more prosperity yet the last 10 years of economic growth did not benefit the least advantaged. From 1995 to 2005, GDP per capita in Canada grew by 27% in real dollars. The highest 20% of families saw their after-tax incomes grow by more than 22%. The lowest 20% saw gains of 9%. The sources of poverty are structural, and solutions have to directly address living conditions. Powerful international evidence shows that poverty reduction is best pursued through collective political commitments, rather than relying on aggregate economic growth.

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Living wage campaigns have grown in strength and introduced an ethical dimension to the labour market in Canada and the U.S. A society should assure anyone who works full year, full time a living standard beyond poverty. Decent living standards in 2007 dollars would require total disposable incomes in the following ranges for the following households:

- single adult - an income over $15,000 a year (MISWAA, 2006)
- lone parent, one child - household incomes over $20,000 a year
- couple, one child - household incomes over $25,000 a year
- for additional children in lone parent and couple families add $5,100 a year

When the political will exists countries can reduce poverty levels. The rate of child poverty in 2005 was the same as the rate in 1989 when the House of Commons voted to end child poverty by the year 2000. The first UNICEF report card on child poverty in OECD countries (2000) demonstrated that countries with the lowest child poverty rates allocated the highest proportion of their wealth to social expenditures even during periods of recession and rising unemployment. Four Nordic countries have the lowest rates of child poverty in the OECD, high levels of taxation as a percentage of GDP, and three of the countries [Finland, Sweden, and Denmark] are ranked among the top five in global competitiveness.

The national policy framework of Campaign 2000 for poverty reduction across Canada rests on four cornerstone principles. These principles are:

A. **The principle of sustaining employment** - an assurance that any parent or adult working full-time, full-year for 30 hours or more a week (1500 hours a year) can have a living standard out of poverty. This also includes providing a full child benefit of $5,100 a year (2007 dollars) for each child in low income families and work tax credits of $2,400 a year.

B. **The principle of a basic income system for persons with disabilities** - People with disabilities are more likely to live in poverty than other Canadians. Campaign 2000 supports setting disability benefits equal to the social security system for seniors.

C. **The principle of transitional support with decency and dignity** --The historic tendency to divide people in poverty into "deserving" and "undeserving" is still with us. A poverty reduction strategy must establish just differentials between those with employment incomes and families with children whose parents are unavailable for employment due to temporary or extended difficulties.

D. **The principle of available and affordable essential resources** in four areas to protect family budgets and promote pathways to equal opportunities for all children. It is important to restore access to Employment Insurance [EI] eligibility and protection; provide continued access to prescription drug and dental

benefits; prevent the high costs of housing from draining the food budgets of low income families; and ensure universal access to high quality learning and care for all children during the early years.

The cornerstone target across Canada would be to assure every parent working full time, full year a living standard out of poverty.

To achieve this goal would require the following initiatives from the federal government:

- Increase the NCBS to create a full child benefit of $5,100 (2007 dollars)
- Increase federal work tax credits to $2,400 a year
- Establish a federal minimum wage of $10 an hour (2007 dollars)
- Major federal investments in essential resources such as early learning and child care, social housing, and restoration of Employment Insurance eligibility.

Provinces would be expected to contribute in the following areas:

- Raise and index minimum wages to a poverty reduction standard of $10 an hour (2007 dollars)
- Invest provincial revenue in affordable housing initiatives
- Invest provincial revenue in extended drug and dental coverage
- Invest provincial revenue in early learning and child care

The just differential target across Canada would be to reduce the depth of poverty for families with children on social assistance to at least 80% of the poverty benchmark.

To achieve this goal would require the following initiatives in most provinces:

- Families to receive full child benefits of $5,100 (2007 dollars) without clawbacks and rate reductions in social assistance payments
- Full indexation of social assistance rates in all provinces starting in 2008
- Annual increases to social assistance rates of 3% or more above inflation also starting in 2008

To restore the fiscal capacities of Canadians to invest in our country, all federal savings from lower public debt charges from now to 2012 should be directed towards investments in poverty reduction and other national priorities. Parliament should consider the adoption of a sunset clause for all general tax cuts implemented by the federal government since 2000.

Social Protection: Income Security, Decent Work, and Progressive Taxation

"Is Social Spending Productive?", in Full Employment: Social Questions for Public Policy (1978)

Commentary by: Leon Muszynski

The Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto of the early 1980s was a place of progressive intellectual ferment. It gathered together a wide array of Torontonians from the social services, community and religious groups, labour, business, and government, all concerned about problems of poverty and inequality, and what to do about them. Marvyn Novick was a singular figure in the work of the Council during this period. He was a passionate advocate for social justice, bringing his very significant intellectual strength to the project.

Several factors led to the project in which Marvyn's paper, *Is Social Spending Productive*, was situated. The long post-war expansion of the Canadian welfare state came to an end in the mid 1970s, as the Canadian economy faced both stagnation and high inflation (stagflation). These were the early years of globalization; Toronto as a manufacturing hub lost thousands of jobs. Rising and chronic unemployment and an inability of governments to improve conditions through fiscal stimulus gave rise to an argument that unemployment was due to structural problems in labour markets and that these problems were in part caused by overly generous social benefits.

In this context, in 1978 the Social Planning Council launched its Urban Seminar Series on Full Employment: Social Questions for Public Policy. Marvyn Novick was the leader of this work. Mike Lyons of the Toronto Labour Council and a board member was a key supporter of the idea that social policy thinking needed to turn its attention to the problems in the way labour markets and our employment systems operated. They both saw employment as the core element of economic and social well-being, and the exclusion from employment as the central force creating poverty and inequality. The seminar was intended to focus social policy thinking on the realm of labour market issues: rising unemployment, low wages, the shift to part-time employment, discrimination in employment, layoffs, and de-industrialization.

Marvyn's contribution is a passionate and impressively researched paper in defense of social spending. Progressive opinion struggled against the increasingly dominant arguments in business, government and in economics that it was collective action, those activities financed through taxation to improve health, education, welfare, and unemployment benefits that were undermining labour market efficiencies. Those of

us who worked with Marvyn during those years were always inspired by his incisive arguments about how this spending was not only essential to a socially just form of economic development, but it was essential to economic prosperity as well.

Marvyn drew from a deep academic and intellectual foundation to buttress his arguments. Referencing both Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, and Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*, Marvyn argued for the historical and current necessity of regulation for economic markets to function effectively. Marvyn did not shy away from taking on all manner of economic analysis. He drew on O'Connor's *Fiscal Crisis of the State* theory to point out that social spending is an investment in market production but one that has outstripped the ability of the state to sustain it. Modern capital theory, Marvyn pointed out as well, has a well-recognized appreciation for the productivity of social spending.

His paper pulls together a wealth of statistical data to illustrate that Canada was not a high social spender compared to other countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and nor did it have high levels of taxation. He demonstrated that Canadians valued public services, and that adequate social spending is essential to both social and economic well-being.

Though the analysis is more than 40 years old, it is still relevant today. Social and economic conditions have changed dramatically. We now know that inequality has grown over the past 40 years because the returns to capital have far outstripped the returns to labour and the growth of income transfer programs. We have learned that these issues have not diminished, but rather have become even more serious. Indeed, they are central to any understanding the contemporary social reality with increasing inequality that is so strikingly linked to the evolution of global employment systems.

Globalization, free trade deals and employment re-structuring, technological changes, the growth of part-time and contract employment (the so-called "gig" economy), persist and are intensifying many social problems. Concern for a just future demands that we continue Marvyn's path of inquiry that seeks to frame and strengthen the role of governments as instruments of collective action in countering the tendencies of markets to create and deepen social problems.

It requires us to identify who is excluded and hurt by employment systems that appear to reward many so well, many more not so well, and many not at all. It is important to figure out what kind of future Canadians are committed to. Is it one relying on market distributed benefits that leave so many people out, or one that uses public policy initiatives that seek to achieve fairer and more desirable social outcomes?

Leon Muszynski was a Research Program Director at the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and then an independent research and policy advisor to numerous government and non-government organizations before assuming the role of owner/director of Camp Arowhon in Algonquin Park, Ontario.

"Is Social Spending Productive" follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/is-social-spending-productive-1978

IS SOCIAL SPENDING PRODUCTIVE

R. Marvyn Novick,
Senior Program Director,
Social Planning Council
of Metropolitan Toronto

In November 1975 a policy era ended in Ontario and Canada. The special Program Review commissioned by the Government of Ontario published its findings. The publication introduced a set of themes which have come to dominate Canadian public policy discussions during the last three years. While the themes are not uniquely Canadian, and are currently the subject of intense debate in almost all O.E.C.D. countries, the manner in which the policy climate has evolved in Canada deserves some special scrutiny.

The Special Program Review was designed to advise the Treasurer of Ontario on "ways and means of restraining the costs of Government through examining issues such as the continued usefulness of programs, alternative lower cost means of accomplishing objectives, and the problem of increased public demand for services in an inflationary period." [1] The report accomplished few of these objectives. It never examined the usefulness of public programs, nor did the review give evidence that it even knew how to approach such a task.

Lower cost came to mean reducing the expenditures of Ontario. The review identified a range of programs to be transferred to the federal or municipal levels, or alternatively to be financed through increased user fees. In the latter instance, lower costs were to be achieved through excluding, or limiting access to, marginal income groups through the use of the price system.

There were few recommendations which addressed issues such as program design, the selective integration of provincial functions, or preventive measures. Nor did the review examine the revenue side of the balance sheet, and in particular the inefficiencies of tax expenditure policies.

The review was designed as, and succeeding in becoming, an ideological exercise which introduced the

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[1] Letter of Transmittal, Special Program Review, November 1975.

concept of public sector restraint to the political life of Ontario. The thinking developed as follows. Government was the biggest and most influential factor in the daily lives of Canadians. World-wide inflation, along with domestic unemployment, were threatening the Canadian economy. Increased government spending at current levels "fuels the very inflation governments are fighting". The most urgent task was not merely to contain current spending, but "to face up to the difficult job of cutting it back".

The source of government threat lay in inordinately large provincial deficits, which threatened to grow even larger in succeeding years. Governments would seek their cash requirements in capital markets, thereby push up interest rates, and draw needed capital away from the private sector.

Seventy percent or more of gross provincial spending is directed to the social development field. Included is health, education, community and social services, colleges and universities. Other forms of social spending outside the social development field include housing, corrections, culture and recreation, and portions of the labour and the justice ministries. Thus a call for restraint and cutbacks in provincial expenditures was in effect a call for reduced social spending.

This was no easy task to accomplish. The establishment of Medicare - Ontario's network of elementary, secondary schools, colleges and universities - the province's child welfare programs, and services to the elderly were sources of immense pride to the people of Ontario, and were strongly supported across all parts of the political spectrum. What followed subsequent to the review was a systematic campaign by political, business, and financial leaders to justify cutbacks in social spending.

Throughout 1976 and 1977 there was hardly a week which passed which did not include a number of reported speeches, professional opinion features, columns or editorials, which proclaimed social spending

as the source of Canada's economic instability. The campaign stressed a number of major themes which through sheer repetition came to be unseen as undisputed fact. It was claimed that levels of public spending in Canada were exceptionally high in relation to other Western nations with whom we had to compete. Social welfare programs in Canada were among the most generous of Western nations. High levels of social spending were the source of Britain's economic malaise. Public spending had come to appropriate 40% of Canada's gross domestic product, thereby eliminating the possibilities of private sector initiative. The public sector, without tests of market accountability, was by definition inherently less efficient than the private sector. The theme of government waste became paramount, reinforced symbolically by difficulties with the postal service, and reinforced in substance by annual reports of the auditor-general, citing the marginal waste inherent in any bureaucratic enterprise. The bottom line in the analysis was centred on taxation levels, with claims that the public sector in Canada was spending beyond its means. Taxes were too high. Taxes were confiscation of productive private initiative. Taxes were contributing to the generation of waste.

On a more theoretical level, all public sector activities and by implication all forms of social spending, were defined as "non-productive". These activities did not contribute to the formation of "real wealth", but represented the luxury goods of society in which wealth was created by the private sector. Thus schools, hospitals, universities, police and fire services were inherently non-productive, but nevertheless desireable frills. Family budgeting imagery was invoked. When times are difficult family luxuries are curtailed, and scarce resources are devoted to the necessities of life. When difficulties would be overcome eventually, the important "extras" of life would once more be possible. Thus public spending had to be cutback, and await new wealth formation through private initiative.

The most productive role for the state in the coming years would be to limit its restraint of private initiative. Thus there were calls for reduced spending, reduced taxation, reduced deficits,

reduced regulations, reduced public sector employment, reduced pensions and wage increases to public servants. A more favourable environment for private capital formation would make Canada competitive again, create new jobs, overcome energy shortages, and create new sources of wealth for public purposes. While private initiative was central to this strategy, public sector encouragement in the form of tax concessions was not to be ruled out. Thus in the seventies, we have seen a host of proposals and measures - temporary income and sales tax cuts, employment tax credits, proposed mortgage interest exemptions, write-offs to spur domestic capital formation (i.e. RRSP, RHOSP), major concessions (1972-74) to secondary industry, increased exemptions for the proceeds from Canadian investment, calls for abolition of capital gains, direct inducement payments to non-Canadian enterprises to locate in Canada (i.e. Ford), deferrment schedules for the payment of taxes, and so forth. While it is not at present possible to identify the cost of these tax concessions, they represent sizeable levels of public spending. Tax expenditures represent foregone public revenue, and lead to large public deficits.

The public policy environment in Canada has been transformed. Governments at all three levels have absorbed the new assumptions and adopted appropriate fiscal and policy measures. Cutbacks in public sector spending are the order of the day. Nevertheless, inflation continues unabated. Widespread unemployment persists. There is little if any optimism for the immediate future. The most pessimistic of all scenarios is the demographic solution. In this view there is little that can be done to mitigate current employment hardship. It is primarily a function of a demographic bulge, unique to Canada, which has given us the largest growth of labour force population of any OECD country in the last decade. This is largely the result of the post-war baby boom, the growing participation rates of women in the labour force, and high immigration levels. There is a limit to the number of jobs that the economy can create even under the best of circumstances. Canada's employment creation rate is one of the best in OECD countries. For those periodically or permanently excluded it is a matter of waiting it out during the next 5-8 years, into the mid-eighties, when the bulge is finally

absorbed. At that time we might even face labour shortages because of an aging population.

For members of the social policy community the last three years have been a period of shock and disarray. The post war period was one of unprecedented expansion of social development programs, primarily financed through public investments and subsidies. There was rarely any need to justify the overall value of health, education, social welfare, and income support programs. They were assumed to be useful if legitimate needs could be demonstrated. Social planning was directed to needs identification, and the allocation of public and voluntary surpluses. Was a new sheltered workshop program for the retarded of higher priority than a new family life education service? On what schedule would hospitalization and physician benefits be extended? Over what period of time could the regional distribution of new community colleges be completed?

It was a period of activism, whether within institutions or in the community. Most of the important assumptions were already in place. There was little if any critical thinking required beyond maximizing distributional objectives.

The new policy environment has ended this insularity. The climate of restraint has intensified the justifications required of social development work. With scarce resources the givens of public policy, social development functions are now assessed relative to mainstream economic functions. Even if the initial assessments of social development functions are unfavourable, through claims that they are "non-productive", the functions have been joined at the center of public policy debate. This is to be welcomed. Economic and social policy issues are now part of an integrated framework of public debate. This presents the social policy community with new opportunities to address substantive preventive areas such as employment, urban planning, tax expenditure reform - not readily possible when social development activity was assigned a residual role in the policy mainstream, quietly appropriating its share of growth surpluses for human services and programs.

As both policy areas are joined, opportunities for comment and assessment will flow in both directions.

"Policy Perspectives on Mental Health Promotion", in Work and Well-Being: The Changing Realities of Employment (1984)

Commentary by: Peter Clutterbuck

In the early 1980s, Marvyn Novick chaired the National Committee of the Mental Health and the Workplace Project for the Canadian Mental Health Association (CMHA). Following a survey of more than 1200 workers in five communities across Canada, this Project produced a report titled *Work and Well-being. The Changing Realities of Employment* in 1984.[1]

The Report attracted some media interest at the time and its findings and analysis were the subject of several national and international conferences in the mental health and health promotion fields. The Project followed up the research with support to local initiatives in the five participating communities, such as a Work/Life Centre in St. Catharines assisting workers to negotiate flexible worktime arrangements with their employers.

I had the privilege of heading up the research and supporting Marvyn and the National Committee. Typically, Marvyn assumed a lead role in the Committee's discussion of the survey findings and drafted the chapter in the report on "Policy Perspectives on Mental Health Promotion".

Also, typical of Marvyn, he did not limit proposals for improving mental health in the workplace to programmatic prescriptions for alleviating stress and emotional crisis, such as access to more workplace supports such as Employment Assistance Programs. Rather he led the National Committee in undertaking a broader analysis of the structural conditions that created pressures and hardships affecting the mental health and well-being of workers.

Hence, he framed the policy issue for health and well-being in the workplace squarely on key pillars of the welfare state – income security, full employment policies, and strong public services.

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1 The participating communities were Yellowknife, NWT, Fort McMurray, Alta., North Battleford, Sask., St. Catharines, Ont., and Chatham-Newcastle, N.B.

Marvyn was always wary of single path solutions to complex societal problems. He did not have a simplistic view of the welfare state as merely a safety net to catch the most disadvantaged from falling into destitution. He argued it should be seen as a floor of solidarity and commitment to a decent standard of living for all and a springboard for the achievement of everyone's developmental potential.

This is why he re-framed the income security issue from a stigmatizing "welfare" orientation to an adaptive "life-cycle" perspective. His "integrated income model" blends the appropriate mix of market earnings and public income support according to people's changing relationship to the labour market over the course of their working lives (e.g. educational opportunities, familial responsibilities, community participation, re-training needs).

Similarly, Marvyn advocated re-thinking full employment from "work ethic" to "career ethic" terms. In the turbulent and changing labour market of the 1980s, he acknowledges that employment is primarily valued for its economic role and argued that it should also be understood from the worker's point of view as part of a fulfilling journey throughout the course of life. Employment policies and supports could facilitate balance among the work-learning-familial-community dimensions of life, creating motivated, productive and healthy citizens.

Herein lay Marvyn's skepticism about de-linking income and work advocated by proponents of a basic universal income. Not that he denied the importance of income security. Rather, his appreciation of the relationship among work, employment and income was more nuanced. It demanded recognizing the complexity of people's needs and opportunities through the different stages of life's journey. In his mind, income security should be adapted to the requirements of the life cycle and complement a person's relationship to work, learning, family life, and community contribution. Social and economic policy should creatively reflect this complexity and balance income security policies with full employment policies with strong and stable public services. He pointed to the tremendous community needs that could be met with decent and highly valued jobs. Marvyn elaborated on this thinking in a policy perspective for Poverty Free Ontario in 2014 included in this publication, thirty years after first articulating the "life-cycle" approach to Work and Well-Being.[2]

If there are different realities for thinking in this way in the new millennium versus the 1980s, they would be that the unemployment, inflation, and beginning of austerity policies in the 1980s were still primarily understood in the context of a cyclical economic cycle. Chronic and structural unemployment and under-employment and deepening austerity have been the primary features of today's social and economic policy in the new millennium. Precarious work has prevailed, especially but not limited to the low wage end of the labour market.

Certainly, the shock of the COVID pandemic has exposed the structural failures of

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2 "Creating Communities of Shared Opportunity across Ontario: Time for a Civic Declaration on Decent Work
and Basic Incomes for All". Bulletin #13, Poverty Free Ontario (September 2014).

our market-driven economic system, stimulating a multi-dimensional policy discourse incorporating - income security, decent employment, and essential health and social supports such as universal childcare. Advocates in each of these and other policy areas are recognizing the importance of thinking and working in an integrated way for post-pandemic stability. As well, the pandemic has highlighted the importance of strong government action and investment. Hopefully, this is all more than just a responsive strategy to combat and recover from a global and national crisis, but an awakening to the structural change needed to create an equitable and inclusive society.

In 1984 Marvyn pointed to emerging conditions in the labour market with harsh implications mostly for young people, women, ethnic minorities and immigrants, and persons with disabilities (i.e. includes many who we now recognize as "essential workers" as a result of the pandemic). He was resolute on the importance of building a broad national consensus and a social solidarity grounded in a commitment to decent work, flexible income security, and essential public services. I imagine his thinking on the current crisis would be similar and he would even see the moment as an opportunity to address the structural conditions requiring attention.

Peter Clutterbuck is a long-time friend and colleague of Marvyn Novick in the social planning movement.

PC Revised Draft, December 13, 2020/Cf minor revisions April 25, 2023

WORK AND WELL-BEING

THE CHANGING REALITIES OF EMPLOYMENT

A Publication of the

Canadian Mental Health Association

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Policy Perspectives on Mental Health Promotion

The policy implications of mental health and the workplace reach to the core of current debates about the future of the welfare state. Historically, the institutions and policies of the welfare state have pursued two central objectives:

(a) the creation of the **universal** safety net of social security programs and services; and

(b) the achievement of **full** employment.

Both objectives have shared a common distributional goal. "Universal" and "full" reflect a commitment to all members of society, irrespective of the accident of birth or life circumstance. The welfare state represents an unprecedented commitment in the history of human civilization to the well-being of people.

The scope of the welfare state commitment has of necessity required extensive use of public resources and the creation of broad technocratic and bureaucratic forms to achieve its objectives. At times we have tended to examine the forms critically, while forgetting the scope of social commitment and human achievement which these forms have made possible.

Nevertheless, it is commonly understood that the welfare state is at a cross-roads between retrenchment and extension. At issue are the costs of social programs, a concern with the dominance of state activity and a corresponding erosion of personal and collective responsibility to others.

Social programs consist generally of two kinds of government provided resources:

(a) **human and public services** such as health care, education, child welfare, recreation, residential care, assisted housing, parks, public transportation, sanitation services, policing and so forth; and

(b) **income transfers** from contributors organized by government to recipients. In the social insurance measures, recipients tend to perceive themselves as full or partial contributors to their own benefits.

The dilemma with the service component of the welfare state is ultimately the question of its cost. Services are economic products, placed into public use from the stock of productive resources available to a society, At any given time, there are competing claims on the stock of productive resources. Inevitably a threshold of costs exists, although

people of differing political persuasions might disagree on where the threshold rests.

The basic service frameworks of the welfare state in Canada, with the exception of British Columbia, have been holding. In this sense, there is a distinct political border between Canadian directions and developments in the United States.

There ls less consensus in Canada and other advanced industrial societies on acceptable thresholds for income transfer programs. Essentially, income transfer programs, and the public revenue which sustains them, do not create economic· products for social consumption. They realign both progressively and regressively income relationships for private consumption. The relationship between the levels and directions of income transfers and productive capacity is a source of continuing debate between supply side (investment) and demand side (consumption) proponents.

From a community mental health perspective, it is quite clear that high levels of unemployment are a greater threat to personal and social well-being than moderate increases in inflation. Unemployment tends to hurt groups which are already the most vulnerable, and to protect the more articulate and secure. Moderate inflation affects all, including the articulate and secure.

The absence of a serious full employment agenda in Canada places additional negative stress on Individuals and a mounting strain on the human service and social security systems. The welfare state is then placed In the difficult role of **containment** - that is, helping people cope with or overcome harmful stress and illness arising from increasing economic difficulties. The role of containment is troublesome for two reasons:

(a) human services on fixed budgets are stretched to their capacity in meeting new social needs created by unemployment and economic instabllity; and

(b) billions of dollars in public income transfers are provided to Canadians through unemployment insurance and social assistance to sustain idleness, social exclusion, and, for many, personal despair.

There are limits to how much further mental health, child welfare, family services, and correction institutions can sustain the growing spill-overs from continually high levels of unemployment and a sense of unease about the economic future. The safety net of the welfare state is being stretched beyond what was intended, and beyond what it is capable of doing.

Full employment commitments were adopted in Canada, the United States, and Western Europe during and subsequent to World War II. Full employment **was a** sacred promise to adults and youth who had risked themselves during the war years. Throughout the post war period, full employment was the cornerstone of economic and social policy in most of Western Europe. During the same period in Canada and the United States, the commitment to full employment policies was not maintained. Unemployment levels In the best of times ln North America hovered at 3% In the 1960s.

Economic growth increases a country's capacity to address full employment problems , but the market still remains an inefficient

allocator of employment. Economic growth must be accompanied by labour market and income policies to meet the distribution objectives implicit In a full employment agenda.

To achieve economic growth requires the presence of an effective and competitive productive capacity and economic policies which release rather than constrain productive energies. The ability to pursue full employment objectives is ultimately grounded in the political will of a country, reflecting the levels of consensus and social solidarity which prevail within the population.

Employment, workplace and income issues are moving to the centre of the policy agenda in Canada. We are in a period of significant economic transition. Prospects for full employment, given current directions, remain uncertain if not grim. Decent jobs with a future are eluding many young Canadians. Dislocation from jobs because of technological changes is a source of continuing unease, particularly to women in office employment. Some people (the "career-driven") feel the double pressure of tougher competition for desirable jobs and peak family responsibilities.

The primacy of employment in people's lives is still founded mainly on a commitment to economic values. The psychological rewards and social acceptance of employment are often considered secondary benefits. The intrinsic value of employment to people and the merit of "non-economic" human involvements in family life, volunteer service, education and other forms of personal development are not usually accorded equivalent consideration as contributing to the health and functioning of individual and community life.

The "work ethic" is fundamental to the functioning of our economic system. The promotion of mental health in the workplace challenges the primacy of employment or the "work ethic" as traditionally understood. The "career ethic" proposed in chapter 6.0 incorporates the economic motivation for society's development but goes beyond the traditional work ethic to allow for personal development and wider community benefit.

A society committed to the career ethic and the life cycle model would be a society which provided a wider range of choices for mixing productive employment with other meaningful, "non-economlc" human activity based In family and community life. The problem facing many Canadians is how to integrate the worlds of employment, parenting, education, voluntarism, and the development of cultural skills within a framework of realistic and satisfactory income expectations. The career ethic suggests that the meaning of work for many Canadians will come from a diversity of sources, with employment still remaining pivotal to a sense of purpose and personal achievement, but not necessarily primary or dominant. Essentially, support for the career ethic demands a shift in the cultural value base as Gardell says from economic "to human life goals" (26). This shift cannot be expected to occur overnight but its merit and implications must begin to receive some consideration.

The career ethic and life cycle approach could give new meaning to a full employment policy. Full employment as an objective would embrace the unemployed, who seek access to paid work, the underemployed, who are more insecure and under challenged in the jobs available to them, and the employed, who may want relief from the heavy demands and expectations of the workplace. Certain employed people such as the "career driven" would have greater opportunity to pursue alternative forms of productive, fulfilling activity outside of regular employment within a framework for dignity and financial security. A redistribution of employment time would provide more meaningful employment roles for others who have access

problems such as younger people, disabled people, women and ethnic minorities.

A full employment policy based on a career ethic would require a set of practical forms of income and social supports. Some provisions for consideration follow:

(a) redistributing employment time.

The redistribution of employment time is essential to achieve full employment. Economic and technological developments are forcing more serious consideration of modifying traditional working patterns. Job-sharing and reduced weekly and annual time at the workplace, temporary paid and unpaid leaves, a more flexible retirement system are ways to respond to what is perceived as a problem of job shortages. More accommodating time arrangements in the workplace with adequate income protection would meet the needs of many employees and give them more scope to achieve a better balance between their employment and familial and community life activities. The success of redistributed employment time, however, depends on adequate Income security provisions.

(b) designing and implementing an Integrated Income Model.

The career ethic has important income implications. Traditionally, income to individuals has come from three sources:

- employment (market income)
- government (public income)
- familial (private Income)

For the most part, these have remained separate and distinct sources of Income. Familial income, acquired through inheritance, Inter and intra-generational transfers, and savings as a result of previously high market income, has tended to be less ongoing and more episodic. Generally, familial income has been a major source of economic inequality in a society which regards income as reflective of personal achievement.

Market income, personally secured, has tended to be the most highly valued source of income In our society. That Is, people who are employed are considered self-supporting and not in need of public Income support.

New employment patterns which allow more involvement in educational, familial and community activities would require some kind of **integrated Income model.** That is, an individual's or family's total income would be constituted from both market and public sources. Public income, however, would not carry the "welfare" or "unemployed" stigma. Rather, it would be accepted as recognition for an individual's participation in community service, or educational activity for personal development, or family-related responsibilities.

Perhaps the Canadian income program which best exemplifies monetary recognition of the value of non-employment-related activity is the universal Family Allowances Program. The inclusion of maternity benefits within the Unemployment Insurance program is another example. These are not part of a comprehensive income support program but do indicate some movement from the traditional practice of welfare or social insurance supports. More flexible uses of public income are necessary as a supportive framework for the life-cycle model previously discussed. Public

income can be seen as a community provided resource for alternative forms of productive activity of benefit to the individual and community, other than full time employment.

(c) creating innovative employment options.

Job creation programs whether within the public sector or publicly supported ln the private sector are essentially policy responses to economic conditions, The availability of personally fulfilling job opportunities is another issue. The findings of this report and other research suggest that fulfillment through the workplace is less certain for younger people, women, blue collar and service employees and disabled people than for others. Measures can be taken through the existing employment structure to respond to the needs of these sub-groups. But there is also an opportunity to implement more innovative job creation programs which would produce not only more jobs but also more rewarding, fulfilling jobs.

Public assistance for the start-up of worker cooperatives in which employees participate actively in the development and operation of an enterprise is one example.

Supports and subsides to small business which generate the greatest proportion of jobs in Canada is another example. Opportunities for learning and advancement can be made available in small business where employers are more likely to retain employees whose hiring and training has been assisted through government incentive programs.

Direct capital or start-up grants or interest free loans to youth to launch their own private ventures is another approach to creating both employment and commitment to an enterprise which offers challenge and reward. These and other innovative programs require further discussion and public policy support.

(d) supporting the community service employment option.

Social, health and personal services constitute a significant proportion of total employment in Canada as they do In other Industrial nations, The value of this community-based "third sector", which is being Increasingly distinguished from the traditional private and public sectors, is gaining more recognition (29, 30). The appreciation of the value of this "third sector" Is based on both social and economic merit.

The **usefulness** of employment for purposes which are "socially beneficial" to the community (e.g. support to the elderly, day care) rather than strictly for economic productivity integrates employment even more fully into community life. It ascribes more value to the role of community service whether performed on a voluntary or paid basis. It also addresses the particular needs of certain sub-groups within the workforce. For example, older workers approaching retirement may be able to combine reduced hours in traditional employment with community service work which Included financial compensation. People in their prime employment years, however, may also wish to devote some time to community service work rather than traditional employment in the private or public sector.

(e) providing support for continuing education.

Opportunities to pursue personal fulfillment outside of but complementary to employment are needed. In the Cross-Canada Citizen Survey, most (58%) of the respondents who indicated that their employment provided support for educational activities

specified that these opportunities were "job-related training".

It is only to be expected that employers would be moved to support educatlon for their employees which would contribute to employee skill and capabilities to do their jobs. More flexible provisions in this regard may be a necessary consideration. But beyond specific job-related training other forms of continuing education support which are not necessarily job-related are necessary If the concept of a career ethic ls to be practically implemented. This suggests the need for some collaboration among governments, employers, the labour movement and educational and training institutions to develop and provide a wide range of flexible and workable options.

Conclusion

The policy consensus for Canadians to pursue is whether major re-distributions of employment time and income, are essential to the future well-being of this country and Its people. Within a consensus, there would be much room for debate on the social division of responsibility in securing major re-alignments of work and income. Differences would emerge in determining the appropriate boundaries between public responsibility, employer responsibility, and personal responsibility.

Important redistributions of resources such as employment time and income can only occur, however, if a sense of "social solidarity" emerges among Canadians. Social solidarity means a willingness to sacrifice, if necessary, to meet basic responsibilities to less secure and advantaged Canadians. In concrete terms, this has tended to indicate economic transfers from the rich to the poor. While this approach to re-distribution remains valid, there are life cycle and demographic perspectives on solidarity which begin to reach ordinary Canadians.

We must respond to the need of younger workers and women to have real opportunities for more rewarding kinds of employment. We must also give disabled people access to real employment roles with the appropriate levels of support. We must provide options to older employees which allow them dignity and security as they leave or reduce employment activity. We must design jobs and organizations in ways which enhance opportunity for personal fulfillment regardless of status or occupation. We must assure that the pressures of the prime employment years do not produce personal, family and social costs which counter the benefits of their productive employment activity. We must create working environments and personal sensitivities which foster positive social relations in the workplace. In some way, everyone has something to gain by greater awareness of the health and employment problems of others. The social health of Canadians may well depend on building a strong sense of social solidarity.

Societies such as Sweden and Austria have demonstrated that states of social solidarity can prevail and serious economic stress can be avoided. However, the task of consensus building and solidarity In these countries has been helped by their smaller scale, geographic compactness and ethnic homogeneity. For Canadians to achieve equivalent levels of consensus would be a unique and proud achievement given our larger scale, geographic spread, and ethnic diversity.

The moral life of Canadian society is about to be tested. We are challenged to build consensus on the issues and solidarity around a set of policy responses which allow a wide range of social choices for Canadians vis-a-vis their employment roles. A community mental health perspective encourages the availability of social choices. Initiatives are possible within local communities, at the workplace, In

broad national sectors. The act of promoting social choices enhances the well-being of the initiators as well as the individuals who more immediately benefit from important changes. Mental Health and the Workplace is one framework for consensus building and continuing the important tradition of voluntary initiative in Canada.

A Time to Stand Together, A Time for Social Solidarity – A Declaration on Social and Economic Policy Directions for Canada (1987)

Commentary by: Laurell Ritchie

In the wake of a deep recession that began in 1981 with unemployment and inflation both hitting 12% in Canada, the ascendency of neo-liberal market policies, debates raging over free trade with the US, and the 1984 federal election of Brian Mulroney's Conservatives, new collaborations took root among a wide range of organizations.

Those collaborations led to some common conclusions about the way forward, many of them reflected in *"A Time to Stand Together. A Time for Social Solidarity",* a declaration released in 1987 by the joint Working Committee for Social Solidarity.

Subtitled *A Declaration on Social and Economic Policy Directions for Canada by Members of Popular Sector Groups*, it invited others to look deeper into the crisis and its causes and to consider alternative economic and social policies.

Marvyn Novick was one of the most influential members of the Working Committee and played a large role in the thinking and shaping of the declaration. At the time he was Dean of Community Services at what is now Toronto Metropolitan University.

Marvyn was a big picture thinker. He took a cross-sectoral approach. He understood the need for a coherent, multi-faceted policy agenda rooted in broad community solidarity. And he recognized the important role of universal programs and good public services in building the social cohesion and inclusion that sustained those communities. Most importantly, he took on the big lies about a low tax economy and government deficits.

It's notable that the 2017 inaugural Marvyn Novick Memorial Lecture addressed the subject of "Basic Income or Decent Work?". Marvyn was already engaging the Working Committee in this important debate back in the mid-1980s. His indelible handprint can be found in the declaration's consensus statement on minimum income policies. Marvyn argued passionately for prioritizing full employment and jobs with good pay and benefits, as well as universal programs that ensured everyone's good health and wellbeing. It was - and remains - a controversial position but Marvyn insisted we keep in mind the larger interplay between the labour market and income security programs. The declaration warns, that the minimum income programs being proposed at the time *"would serve to free both government and businesses from their responsibilities to provide full-time jobs at livable wages".*

The declaration was specific about some of the damaging market policies that were gaining a foothold across the country and in some cases, dividing our own organizations. Among them: the obsession with government deficits, promotion of a 'natural' rate of unemployment, bilateral free trade with the US, privatization of public services, minimum income programs as a panacea, targeted versus universal social programs, austerity budgets, and more. The Working Committee advocated an alternative: first and foremost, a social movement that put solidarity at its core, and policies that promoted full employment, stronger labour standards, expanded social programs, fairer taxation, and a strong public sector.

The tensions within the Working Committee made the ongoing collaboration and eventual consensus all the more remarkable. Some very disparate groups were involved including the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, historically at odds with each other. But they found a discipline in focusing on the big picture and being mindful of the forces arrayed against their larger interests. It made for sober, serious consideration of the common ground between them and the necessity of genuine social solidarity.

Tony Clarke, a Committee member and staff to the Catholic Bishops' Social Affairs Commission at the time, says *"Popular sector groups, unions and others were being pulled in very different directions at the time. We wanted to create a common space where we could debate critical issues. Do we go the guaranteed income route or not? Do we fight the free trade agenda or settle for sector-by-sector exemptions?"*

The declaration came about in a decade of great ferment. The same Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops had released *Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis* on New Year's Day 1983, a public statement that shook up the country's establishment. It shocked many on both the right and the left of the political spectrum with its scathing critique of the state of the economy in Canada and globally, and the roles of government and business. The bishops were condemned for meddling in the affairs of the state by then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and many others.

In December 1984, an ad hoc group of popular sector organizations met in Toronto to discuss and take action on the issue of free trade. This new Coalition Against Free Trade included over 30 groups as diverse as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, the National Farmers Union, First Nations representatives, the Canadian Auto Workers and the Catholic Bishops Social Affairs Commission.

The Working Committee for Social Solidarity was seeded by such groups, all of which continued with their other work. Even as the 1987 Declaration was being released, some key committee members were unable to attend the launch as activists were meeting in Quebec to prepare for a renewed fight against Free Trade with the US.

Today, it's helpful to recall how Marvyn insisted we focus on the big picture. Sometimes we bob and weave between social and economic controversies, alert only to the threats to our specific sector and immersed in details. But there may be a larger crisis unfolding that requires all hands on deck. The crisis will always take on a different character - today we know we need a new emphasis on environmental peril, precarious jobs, the role of artificial intelligence and social equity - but perhaps it's ***A Time to Stand Together*** again. To pause, share our collective insights and consider a broader effort.

MINIMUM INCOME *programs at less than the poverty level (as recently proposed by the Macdonald and Forget Commissions) would serve to further free both government and businesses from their responsibilities to provide full-time jobs at livable wages. Income support schemes enable employers to avoid paying a decent wage. Under these conditions, minimum income programs would extend poverty rather than end it. Poverty will be eliminated through full employment at decent wages coupled with improved social insurance, the extension of universal services and adequate income support for those unable to participate in the work force.*

- from "A Time to Stand Together. A Time for Social Solidarity." (1987)
https://ccednet-rcdec.ca/sites/ccednet-rcdec.ca/files/social-solidarity-1987-en.pdf

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Laurell Ritchie is a retired Unifor (Canadian Auto Workers) national representative. At the time of the Working Committee on Social Solidarity she represented the Confederation of Canadian Unions and was active in the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. Laurell thanks fellow committee members Tony Clarke, Mike McBane and Marjorie Griffin Cohen for sharing their insights for this commentary.

An excerpt from A Time to Stand Together follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/a-time-to-stand-together-1987

A time to stand together
A time for social solidarity

A Declaration on Social and Economic Policy Directions for Canada
By Members of Popular Sector Groups

November, 1987

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AS SOCIALLY CONCERNED PEOPLE in labour unions, women's organizations, welfare rights associations, church organizations, aboriginal groups, and other community associations, we are alarmed by signs of deepening social crisis in Canada today. Plant shut-downs, farm bankruptcies, business failures, and abandoned communities have left well over a million and a half people unemployed, thus deprived of an adequate family or personal income. During the past two years alone, nearly a million people have become dependent on welfare. Close to one out of every five citizens in Canada is now living at or below the official poverty line.

As members of various popular organizations, we wish to declare our solidarity with all those people who have become the victims of the continuing social and economic crisis in this country. Indeed, we stand in the tradition of popular movements who have relentlessly struggled for public policies based on economic and social justice in Canada. Today, more than ever, we must resist the strategies of divide and conquer and unite in common cause. We therefore invite other members of our own organizations as well as other concerned persons and groups in communities and regions across Canada, to join with us in a process of analyzing the realities and causes of the present socio-economic crisis and identifying alternative economic and social policy directions.

Social crisis

TODAY THE LIVING SIGNS OF THIS SOCIAL CRISIS are all around us. The relentless lineups at food banks and the increasing number of homeless and hungry people on our streets dramatize the realities of this social tragedy. All across Canada, these new trends of poverty, homelessness, and hunger are manifesting themselves in different degrees between regions and within both urban and rural communities. At the same time, these trends are augmented by other signs of social breakdown including: increased alcoholism; violence against women and children in the family; delinquency; suicides; along with growing numbers of mental health cases and family break-ups. While much remains hidden, the crisis is real!

The victims of this deepening social crisis are many. They include women, students, young people, children, the elderly, and people with disabilities. They involve the aboriginal peoples, new immigrants, and visible minorities. They also encompass older workers, farmers, fishers, and the working poor. Historically, the aboriginal peoples of this country have generally been the hardest hit by the realities of poverty and oppression. Today, women and children clearly find themselves among the prime victims of poverty, homelessness, and hunger. In any case, the present social crisis constitutes a series of assaults on the value, dignity, and self-worth of a growing number of people in Canada today.

In the midst of this social crisis, Canada is rapidly becoming a sharply stratified society of "winners" and "losers". On the one hand, a substantial number of working people have been subjected to permanent unemployment or shut out of employment by the new technologies. On the other hand, a more technologically secure and upwardly mobile sector of the population is permanently employed with adequate incomes.

Between these two solitudes lies a large number of working people whose economic base has been severely eroded, or who live in constant fear of layoffs. This includes a growing number of workers who have no other choice but to depend on part-time, temporary, low wage jobs for their livelihood. Caught in the downward spiral of social mobility, they comprise the "new poor" class that is rapidly emerging in Canada today.

Today, social inequalities are further dramatized by the realities of regional underdevelopment that exist across this country. The highest rates of unemployment and poverty are found today in these regions which have traditionally served as resource hinter lands for the metropolitan industrial centres of Canada. These underdeveloped regions include Newfoundland, the Maritime Provinces, the northern parts of Ontario and large parts of Quebec, most parts of the Prairie provinces and British Columbia, and the Northern territories. The gap in the rate of unemployment between these underdeveloped regions and southern Ontario, for example, has steadily widened in recent years. In the case of Newfoundland, the gap has widened dramatically. In 1983, at the height of the economic crisis, Newfoundland's unemployment rate was 175% that of Ontario's; by the end of 1986 it had risen to 309%.

Moreover, the present social crisis reveals the deep structural inequalities that exist in the distribution of wealth and power in this country. Today, the top 20% of income earners receive 43% of total personal income, while the bottom 20% receive less than 4%. These class divisions become even more evident when the net wealth of all families is considered. In terms of net wealth (total wealth minus debt), the poorest 20% of all Canadians have next to nothing, a mere 0.3%. In other words, most are in debt. The next 20% has only 2.4% of total net wealth. By contrast, the highest 20% possess 69% of Canada's total net wealth. Indeed the top 10% of Canadians control over 51% of total wealth in this country.

As the present social crisis continues unabated, Canadians have become further polarized by class divisions, social inequalities and regional disparities.

While existing programs have helped to eliminate some of the harsher realities of poverty, they

have nevertheless not eradicated it. This compels us to raise some serious questions about some of the dominant market oriented policies and strategies that govern our economy and society.

Market policies

TODAY, CANADA'S SOCIAL POLICIES are increasingly being determined by market-oriented strategies. In response to the so-called “tough new world of competition", federal and provincial governments have been busy restructuring Canada's economic and social policies for a high-tech market future. The primary objective of these policies has been to stimulate the private sector as the engine of economic growth through such measures as deregulation, privatization, and deficit reductions. In order to attract profitable investment, for example, federal and provincial governments have put priority on lower social spending, lower corporate taxes, lower workers' wages, and lower environmental standards.

We believe that these economic and social policy directions are based on a number of false assumptions and myths. We are told that the private sector is the main source of economic growth and prosperity; that present high unemployment rates are "normal" or "natural" for a modem industrial nation; that large government deficits are the principal cause of Canada's ongoing social and economic problems; that Canada's social programs are too generous and can no longer be afforded; that social programs would be more beneficial if they were targeted exclusively for the truly needy; that replacing all social programs with a guaranteed income would serve to cut social program costs and eliminate poverty; that privatization of social services may be a more effective means for serving basic social needs; that bilateral free trade will enhance Canada's economic and social development.

The time has come to explode these myths. Here are some counter-facts: (for more details, see companion working document).

Private Sector: Instead of giving top priority to creating new jobs, most of Canada's large corporations have destroyed jobs by investing in labour saving technologies, financing corporate take overs, mergers and "downsizing", or transferring production to other countries. The result has been jobless forms of economic growth. While some new jobs have been created, the majority of these are part-time, low wage forms of employment.

Natural Unemployment: There is nothing "normal", "natural", or "voluntary" about unemployment. On the contrary, large scale unemployment (and underemployment) has become the central cause of economic and social insecurity in Canada. In economic terms alone, recent unemployment has resulted in an annual loss of some 53 billion dollars to Canada's economy. Meanwhile, other countries have managed to maintain low rates of unemployment in spite of changing world economic conditions.

Government Deficits: As a percentage of the GNP, the current federal deficit is lower than it has been in the past. Today, the accumulated federal debt is around 35% of the GNP, while in 1952 it was as high as 51%. Current government deficits are largely the result of: reduced tax revenues caused by high unemployment; increased social assistance payments to the jobless; and multi-billion dollar handouts to corporations.

Social Spending: Government spending on social programs in Canada is well below spending levels in most other industrial nations. Among the OECD countries, Canada ranks 13th out of 19 countries in the proportion of national income expenditures on social programs. In 1984, for example, Canada would have had to spend an additional $20 billion on social programs just to keep pace with the average in other countries. Instead, social spending in this country continues to decline relative to national wealth.

Selective Programs: By targeting people through means tests, selective programs inevitably serve to create divisions between those "who pay" and those "who receive". As a result, the poorest sectors of the population are further stigmatized, humiliated, and even harassed. Workers are pitted against the unemployed, the working poor against the welfare poor, low and middle income tax-payers against people on social assistance.

Privatized Services: Privatized services do not mean high quality and greater efficiency. In the operations of hospitals and nursing homes by private firms, for example, studies show that quality of service is generally sacrificed in the quest for profits. Moreover, the takeover of public services by private firms inevitably results in job losses and the erosion of working conditions, as work gets contracted-out to non-unionized, low wage enterprises.

Minimum incomes: Minimum income programs at less than the poverty level (as recently proposed by the Macdonald and Forget Commissions) would serve to further free both government and businesses from their responsibilities to provide full-time jobs at livable wages. Income support schemes enable employers to avoid paying a decent wage. Under these conditions, minimum income programs would extend poverty rather than end it. Poverty will be eliminated through full employment at decent wages coupled with improved social insurance, the extension of universal services, and adequate income support for those unable to participate in the work force.

Bilateral Free Trade: Unemployment and poverty in Canada would be further aggravated by a bilateral free trade accord with the United States. Under free trade, U.S. companies with branch plants in Canada would shift production back to their parent companies, leading to more plant shut-downs and layoffs here. Moreover, federal and provincial governments will be pressed by both U.S. and Canadian companies to reduce or eliminate those social programs said to be giving Canadian companies an "unfair competitive advantage". At the same time, Canadian employers will be pressing to lower their pay and benefit plans down to the levels of their U.S. competitors.

In the final analysis, a society and economy that is based primarily on market priorities is enormously wasteful in terms of both human and material resources. A society where over a million and a half workers are rendered unproductive by forced idleness is wasting its human resources. An economy where over a third of its productive capacity sits unused is wasting its material resources. A country where billions of dollars from peoples' savings are squandered to finance corporate takeovers, mergers, investment abroad, and unproductive speculation on the stock market is wasting a people's heritage.

Social solidarity

HISTORICALLY, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES in Canada have been developed in such a way as to divide the struggles of poor people from those of working people. The strategies of governments and corporations have often been to accentuate the differences between the poor and workers to the point of playing one group off against another. These divisive strategies, in turn, have been reinforced by ideologies that promote selfishness, greed, individualism, racism, sexism, and anti-union sentiments. In the midst of all this, many voluntary organizations and people of good will have been manipulated and co-opted by these divisive strategies.

Today, the increasing trends toward market-oriented economic and social policies again threaten to divide the struggles of the poor from those of working people. We believe this is ‘a time to stand together'. It is a time for the victims of the current socio-economic crisis to unite together in a common struggle for social and economic justice in this country. For an injury to one is an injury to all!

It is clear that Canada's social assistance programs are not adequate to measure up to the demands of the crisis. Indeed, the universality and quality of many of our social programs are being severely eroded at a time when they are most needed by a growing number of people. Action must be taken to relieve the suffering of the homeless, the hungry, and the poor. This calls for decisive measures to restructure and upgrade existing social assistance programs to insure adequate income supports. In this regard, poor peoples' organizations across the country have an essential role to play in establishing the criteria and the goals for adequacy in our social assistance programs.

At the same time, it is also clear that this is a critical moment for making major choices about the future direction of Canada's economic and social policies. Do we want to continue the present course of building a society and economy based primarily on market-oriented values and priorities or do we want to chart an alternative course by building a society and economy rooted in the values and priorities of social solidarity?

In a market-oriented society, human beings and social relations are largely defined in terms o f the demand and supply forces of the marketplace. Economic and social policies are generally subjected to such market criteria as what is most "profitable", "productive", "competitive", and "efficient". Under these conditions, human labour, human needs and services tend to be treated as commodities to be bought, sold, or exchanged in the marketplace. In this context, the marketplace is understood to be a system of "natural justice" wherein each person is paid according to his or her "productivity" and where accumulated wealth is expected to trickle down to the people. Yet experience has shown the opposite result, namely, that market mechanisms often end up perpetuating poverty and social inequalities.

Indeed, we believe that social inequality is inherent in market-driven societies. For these reasons, we maintain there is another vision of society and the economy, one based on "social solidarity" rather than market values and priorities; with paid employment being the primary source of income in a people-oriented economy.

Second, all working people have a basic right to meaningful and effective participation in decision-making with respect to the workplace. The fact that so much of a person's time is spent at work requires that the value and dignity of human work must be recognized in the workplace. Moreover, the activity of work itself is integral to human life and has its own intrinsic value. If the quality of working life is to be improved, therefore, new forms of workplace democracy are imperative.

Third, all people engaged in productive, but unpaid forms of work in both the home and the community have a basic right to be recognized for their contributions to the development of society. Reduced work time would allow both men and women to share more equally in voluntary work and participate more fully in community and family life. At the same time, many current forms of voluntary work need to be converted into paid employment as a further step towards a society based on full employment.

These dimensions of human work are essential to a people-oriented economy. Even in difficult, often alienating working conditions of our present market economy, people struggle for human dignity and participation in society, through their work. Indeed, human work has the power, in and of itself, to create human community and social solidarity.

Finally, the development of a stronger and more participatory democracy is an essential goal of a solidarity oriented society. This calls for a strong and dynamic public sector that is both accessible and accountable to popular participation. Through this process, greater emphasis would be placed on stimulating community and worker participation in, and control over, both social and economic development in Canada.

Alternative policies

THERE IS A PRESSING NEED TODAY to develop alternative economic and social policies based on social solidarity rather than market- oriented priorities. This means converting to a people-oriented economy and society that puts top priority on serving people's basic needs, enhancing the value and dignity of human work, achieving a more equitable distribution of wealth and power among peoples and regions, and creating a more vital and participatory democracy. As a country, we have the resources, the capital, the technology and, above all, the people and skills required to develop a new economic and social order. What is required are policies and strategies designed to stop the waste and to mobilize our human and material resources for these purposes. As an alternative platform, therefore, we propose the following set of socio-economic policies and strategies based on social solidarity. (For more details, see companion working document).

1. **Full Employment:** A full employment policy guaranteeing decent jobs for all those willing and able to work, must be established as the cornerstone of economic and social security in Canada. A full employment policy for Canada would include the following objectives:
   a) the recognition of universal access to paid employment for all who want it as a vital element of social and economic citizenship;
   b) the adoption of legislation designed to guarantee jobs for all citizens in all regions;
   c) the development of full employment strategies that will reduce unemployment rates to 3% within 5 years;
   d) the effective elimination of discriminatory barriers in employment practices; and
   e) adequate support programs designed to enable persons to take full advantage of employment opportunities. (e.g. affirmative action programs, universal child care, adult literacy programs).

2. **Economic Strategies:** The implementation of a national economic strategy for full employment involving the following components:
   a) concerted efforts to promote and achieve a greater degree of economic self-reliance;
   b) the development of new investment strategies including investment controls designed to redirect capital for the enhancement of manufacturing and resource sectors of the economy and regional development;
   c) the linkage of government subsidies or grants for corporations to specified job creation standards;
   d) the expansion of public and community services as a positive means for increasing job creation and productive capacity;
   e) and the creation of democratic local structures designed to stimulate employment and regional investment. Financing is also required to empower municipalities to renew their infrastructure.

3. **Labour Standards:** A new set of labour standards designed to ensure adequate incomes, social equality, workplace democracy, and decent working conditions needs to be established and implemented. These standards for working people would include the establishment of:
   a) living wages;
   b) equal pay for work of equal value;
   c) measures to bring about greater social equality between the highest and lowest levels of salaries and wages;
   d) improved working conditions (e.g., reduced working year, familial and study leaves, improved health and safety standards); and
   e) new forms of workplace democracy.

4. **Social Programs:** Existing social services, insurance, and assistance programs need to be strengthened, revitalized and expanded in order to better serve the basic needs of all citizens in our society. A revitalized system of social programs would include:
   a) the assurance of full universal access to essential social services and programs like national health care, education, family allowance, and daycare services;
   b) the enhancement and extension of social insurance programs (e.g. unemployment insurance; Canada/Quebec Pension) to ensure continuity of income in the case of contingencies;
   c) the provision of upgraded and fully indexed social assistance benefits to recognized adequacy levels for people unable to work; and
   d) improved standards of quality and public participation for the improvement of our social programs.

5. **Taxation Policies:** To ensure sufficient revenues for full employment and a more equitable distribution of wealth, a progressive and fair taxation system needs to be developed based on the ability to pay. This would include the following components and measures:
   a) increases in the rate of personal income taxes for the top 40% of income earners and the closing of tax loopholes;
   b) a progressive tax on wealth above a modest threshold (e.g. taxes on the value of property owned, dividend income, capital gains, inheritances);
   c) specific measures to ensure annual reductions in wealth disparities; and
   d) a new system of taxation to ensure that corporations and financial institutions pay their fair share of taxes.

6. **Public Sector:** To accomplish the above objectives, the public sector itself needs to be reorganized, strengthened, and revitalized as the engine for economic and social development in Canada. This would include:
   a) new forms of public ownership, planning and decision-making through new mechanisms to ensure effective public participation and accountability;
   b) the creation of democratic institutions such as worker or community controlled enterprises and cooperatives;
   c) greater community control over health care, education, and social services; and
   d) the mandating of crown corporations to implement a wide range of just policies on labour, economic, social and environmental concerns.

Taken together, these measures constitute an alternative set of social policy directions for Canada. These proposals are not meant to be a detailed blueprint for Canada's social and economic future. What we have put forward here, instead, are some of the basic elements of an alternative vision based on principles of social solidarity rather than market priorities. Through ongoing research, analysis, and discussion by popular organizations and professional groups in communities and regions across Canada, we hope that more detailed proposals pertaining to these and related policy alternatives will be worked out. At the same time, it should be emphasized that federal, provincial (territorial), and municipal governments all have important roles to play in developing alternative strategies and programs. Moreover, businesses and other private sector organizations have a responsibility to join in this process of building an economy that serves people.

Social movement

AS A SOCIETY WE HAVE THE PEOPLE, the resources, and the skills required to develop an alternative economic and social future. What is required is the social imagination, moral courage, and political will to chart a new course. To move in this direction, however, it is essential that people coalesce together around a common social and economic vision. The

emerging public debate over Canada's social policy future provides an occasion to begin this coalition building process.

The signs of the times give us some cause for hope. Across this country today, there is a growing commitment by popular groups - labour unions, women's organizations, welfare rights groups, church organizations, aboriginal associations, handicapped groups, racial minority associations, co-op groups, students' associations, environmental groups, and a variety of other community organizations - to mobilize against any further assaults on Canada's social programs by market-oriented strategies and to struggle for alternative policies based on social solidarity.

Over the past two years, we have witnessed some dramatic illustrations of this commitment to mobilize popular coalitions around social policy issues. These include the public campaigns against extra-billing for Medicare, against the de-indexation of old age pensions, and against the de-indexation of family allowances. At the same time, popular coalitions for social solidarity have been organized in several provinces to address critical social and economic policy issues affecting the victims of crisis in their region.

In the coming year, we intend to take this declaration and agenda to a host of popular organizations in communities and regions all across Canada. We hope to encourage thousands of peoples' organizations to discuss, debate, and endorse the basic orientation of the declaration. At the same time, we hope that this declaration will be used as a *framework* for evaluating provincial policies and stimulating thought about policy alternatives. *Through this process, we expect that a variety of grassroots initiatives for alternative policies which emerge which will, in turn, add further insights and options to the proposals advanced in this declaration.*

What kind of society do we want to build in this country? This is the question that must be faced by all residents of Canada today. Do we want to continue on the present course of building a society based primarily on market-oriented values and priorities? Or do we want to chart an alternative course by building a society rooted in the values and priorities of social solidarity?

As members of popular sector groups across Canada, we have declared our commitment and determination to struggle for social and economic policies based on social solidarity. We believe that this is a time to stand together! We now call upon all people who share this social vision to join with us in building a popular movement to transform the dominant socio-economic policies of this country. Together, we can reverse the present backward move toward an inequitable and divided society. Together, we can build a more human society based on the principle of social solidarity.

Paying for Canada: Perspectives on National Programs and Public Finance (1994)

Commentary by: Armine Yalnizyan

In any given community, at any given moment, there are thought-leaders. Marvyn Novick was a thought-leader for the progressive community and played that role in Toronto and beyond for decades. He provided context, analysis and strategy in the pursuit of making our community a place where all could thrive.

Paying for Canada was one example of why and how Marvyn sought and provided thought leadership. The report wrestled with four points we wrestle with still:

- "It is not the fault of social policy that there is poverty and unemployment." These result from failures in the market.
- The fiscal crisis is not the result of over-spending; it is the result of "under-collection" of revenues, beginning in the 1970s.
- "Reforming the welfare state [is about] altering the course of Canadian development."
- "The social security and fiscal reforms we are about to engage in...are about redefining nationhood."

Marvyn was outraged by the possibility that Canada's federal government of the day (the newly elected Liberal Party of Canada, led by Jean Chretien) could contemplate balancing the books almost uniquely through spending cuts. Those cuts were far deeper than those contemplated by Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative government, a government so reviled that Canadian voters had reduced them to two seats in the House of Commons, giving these "liberals" a massive majority. But the Liberals were set on austerity, before the term was coined. The hardest hit would be, as they always are, the most vulnerable: the poor, the unemployed, the sick, the elderly, and children. Marvyn's righteous fury was the jet fuel that propelled his desire to find a compelling alternative approach to our budgetary problems, one that assured the weakest would not bear the heaviest costs of fiscal "prudence".

Marvyn argued that national options existed to enhance social security and address the deficit – options that did not require Canada to dismantle its welfare state. These options included "getting people back to work", and generating tax reforms that address both equity and adequacy concerns.

Recall we were living in an era when every budget-related conversation ended up with

Margaret-Thatcher's narrative trope, TINA: There Is No Alternative. In his search for practical, irresistible alternatives, Marvyn read voraciously in areas of public finance not traditionally in his bailiwick; he deepened his own analysis of social program spending; and he advanced our collective thinking by bringing together advocates and analysts from the Child Poverty Action Group, Citizens for Public Justice and the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. I had the privilege of working with this remarkable group of committed experts. Marvyn created strength through coalition, and made sure the best of everyone's contribution expanded the appeal of what he ably and eloquently assembled.

Finally, Marvyn's strategic sensibilities helped us understand and accept the political process. No matter how unassailably correct the argument, how carefully crafted the analysis, Marvyn warned us what ultimately matters is what happens next: When the politicians look over your shoulder, who do they see standing behind you? Alas, we could neither marshal thousands of people in the streets who wanted to Pay For Canada, nor could we marshal deep-pocketed moneybags who agreed that was the way forward.

And yet, re-reading a document written almost a quarter century ago, I am struck how *Paying for Canada* still goes straight to the heart of debate about public finances today. It attempted to prevent Canada's federal budget of 1995, with its single-minded focus on spending cuts, and which provided the template for a series of copycat austerity budgets around the world over the next 20 years. Austerity was invoked under the "progressive" leadership of Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne. And it is clearly the strategy again under Premier Doug Ford. Sadly, austerity is not yesterday's news for any of us who were involved with Marvyn's project of *Paying for Canada*. But importantly, neither are the solutions proposed therein.

That's what it means to be a thought-leader, being influential and relevant for decades to come. Seeking out context that clarified our choices: "either we continue to dismantle national programs, both social and cultural, or we commit ourselves to paying for them"; building a coalition that strengthened our analysis; and courage to stay focused on solutions that advance the goal. Actions that strengthen the public will to support one another and avoid eroding that public will. Marvyn was a thought-leader in every sense of the word.

Public finance decision-making shapes nations. You can't separate social and economic policies. Marvyn's arguments in *Paying for Canada* resonate with these timeless truths. Marvyn's thought-leadership shaped my thinking and still informs my work. In memoriam, and in hopes for a world where all can thrive: thank you Marvyn.

June 2018. Revised.

Armine Yalnizyan is a leading voice in Canada's economic scene. In 1994, she worked with Marvyn and colleagues on the research and advocacy for Paying for Canada.

An excerpt from Paying for Canada follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/paying-for-canada-1994

PAYING FOR CANADA:

Perspectives on Public Finance and

National Programs

A Joint Statement by:

Child Poverty Action Group

Citizens for Public Justice

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto

October, 1994

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Reforming the Welfare State: Altering the Course of Canadian Development

Canadians are being told that the welfare state is in ruins and that social programs no longer work, as evidenced by the fact that "child poverty is growing, unemployment rates are near record highs and our national debt soars higher every day", (Toronto Star, September 17, 1994).

We are constantly presented with the proposition that Canada is 'over-spending' on social programs which are no longer 'affordable' and that the budget deficit is, and must be, the nation's priority. The logical conclusion is that "a key to eliminating the deficit is the comprehensive structural reform of Canada's social safety net" (Finance Minister Paul Martin quoted in the Toronto Star, April 26, 1994).

Indeed, it is now widely and publicly acknowledged that 4 major - if not the major - purpose of the federal social security reform is to cut government expenditures in order to help reduce the deficit. This transforms the social security "debate" into a fight about which programs to cut and how to re-distribute reduced benefits among vulnerable groups.

This is an empty debate as long as it is based on false assumptions about the source of the fiscal crisis and as long as there is no discussion of the range of options that are, in fact, available to the federal government.

Let us put this exercise in context. First, the future of Canadian nationhood is not only predicated on the question of Quebec's separation. The destruction of the social welfare state in Canada poses an equally serious threat to the future meaning and concrete expression of the Canadian nation.

Second, the economic intimidation currently taking place by the Federal Finance Department is being used as an excuse to reduce the levels of public provision and public presence in the economy. The argument goes: Only by balancing the budget can a nation regain its abilit1, to exercise its sovereign will. This is eroding the role of the federal government in sustaining nationhood.

Third, the current drive to reform UI and welfare is being triggered by peripheral concerns: the 3% rate of known abuse on welfare, and the 6% of the population drawing UI that lives in Newfoundland. The government and the media have promoted the view that the vast majority of those who legitimately use these programs are virtually abusing them. This focusses social security reform on issues of dependence and fraud, not despair and poverty.

The real fight in this country is about public responsibility, the public role around shaping economic development. It is a fight about what kind of social security programs we want, about what kind of economy we want and what kind of public finances would bring this about. In essence, this dialogue is about defining the role of government and its character.

Perspective 1: Is the Welfare State Outdated?

Canada's national social programs are one of the greatest achievements of our history. Social programs have helped to build the sense of community and reciprocity which govern how people in Canada relate to each other. Canada's tradition of shared responsibility since World War II has nurtured a sense of who we are and how we define ourselves as a nation.

Far from being outdated, Canada's welfare state is widely judged to significantly provide for the well-being of immigrants, the elderly, the unemployed and the poor, create liveable cities and mitigate regional differences. There remain, however, areas for further development, such as child poverty, inadequate education, and growing inequities in the labour market.

The Canada Health Act expresses the principles underlying many national social programs: universality, accessibility, and portability. The Canada Assistance Plan speaks to issues of adequacy for all persons in need, and the prevention and removal of the causes of poverty. It is due to the enforcement of such principles that Canadian citizens have one of the highest standards of living in the world, a legacy to be proud of and to preserve. As the evidence shows:

- Canada recently topped the list of desirable countries in which to live in terms of indicators such as health status and education, according to a recent United Nations report. (UNDP, Human Development Report 1994).

- Canada accepts more newcomers - relative to our size - than any other Western country. That we can do this in conditions of relative harmony, reducing tensions and disparities between ethnic and racial groups, is a testimony to our immigration and integration policies and to the fabric of our civic life.

- Since World War II, Canada has reduced social inequalities and national disparities through regional equalization payments, universal health care, social insurances, an inclusive system of public education, and pay and employment equity.

- Our social security system has provided basic citizens' rights across the breadth of this country. Regardless of where they live, all Canadians have access to good public schools and hospitals. Similarly, effective income maintenance programs have helped to provide economic security and human dignity for all people whether they live in a small or large, urban or rural community.

- Social programs have meant that our large cities are liveable because, unlike the U.S., we have not filled our cities with economically desperate people. Fiscal structures and legislation such as the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), Established Programs Financing (EPF) and equalization payments, mean that roughly equivalent basic services must be provided everywhere. Therefore, movement from regional to urban centres is more likely to represent expectations of achievement and opportunity. These are migrations of hope, not despair.

The assertions that Canada's social security system has broken down or that social programs no Ionger work are not born out by fact. On the contrary, evidence repeatedly shows that insufficient and poorly-paid jobs are leading to increased poverty and disenfranchisement, and that the only thing that has kept the poorest classes from a free-fall into destitution has been the safety net (Social Infopac, Vol.12, No.1, 1993). The last ten years have tested the social security system; and in return for passing the test, it is now under attack. Simply put, a badly functioning economy is placing undue burden on social programs, not the other way around.

The Social Security Reform provides the federal government with the opportunity to build on Canada's legacy of achievement by recreating public policy in ways that viably address current economic and social realities. Unfortunately, this does not appear to be the direction the government is choosing to take. lnstead, the reform process appears to be driven by the goal of cutting costs.

Public finances are at the heart of the struggle to redefine the quality and scope of the Canadian welfare state. Ironically, the arena of debate about public finances has been largely closed to the public. ln the formulation of budgets and fiscal plans, the Finance Department relies on only one dominant perspective - the way to good nationhood is through the market. Looking at public finances through the lens of the marketplace has led us to prescribe balanced budgets through cutting costs. These costs are virtually equated with social spending.

Because so few alternative perspectives are sought and developed, this approach goes largely unchallenged in public discourse. What emerges is an apparent consensus, reaffirming that the fiscal crisis leaves us with no alternatives.

But the problem with the dominant perspective is that the policy changes it prescribes threatens to destroy the nation for the sake of strengthening the market. The decisions flowing from the federal government's fiscal plan and report for social security reform are pivotal. These will not be incidental reforms, simply geared to balancing national ledgers. Their impact will chart a radical course of change for that which is distinctive about Canadian life.

We believe that national options do exist to address the fiscal, economic and social crises of the 1990s and that the time has never been more urgent to put all viable options on the table.

Perspective 2: Two Decades of Distortion on the Fiscal Crisis

"Canada's fiscal crisis is not the result of an unaffordable system of social programs. Canada has neither over-provided nor over-spent on social programs. Rather, Canada has under-collected relative both to the capacity of its citizens and corporations to contribute to the social security of Canadians and compared to other industrialized countries."

Source of the Fiscal Crisis:

Canada has had a primary expenditures surplus (all federal expenditures except interest paid on the debt) since the 1986-87 fiscal year. lndeed, primary expenditures have been declining every year since 1984, with the exception of the last few brutal years of recession, (Table 1). It is striking that, even under these economic conditions, primary expenditures were lower in 1992 than in 1975. Clearly, government spending is not out of control.

The fiscal crisis originated in under collection of revenues in the 1970s and was exacerbated by rising debt charges due to the unprecedented interest rates of the 1980s. It did not arise from rampant spending on social security, which has remained relatively constant since the mid 1970s, with the exception of the recession periods of the early 1980s and the early 1990s. All other functions of the federal government have fallen dramatically in relation to the size of the economy, with the exception of debt service charges, (Appendix A).

Rising debt charges on Canada's accumulated debt consume a growing proportion of our public resources. The federal government now spends $41 billion annually - nearly 25 per cent of all federal expenditures or 6 per cent of our GDP - to service our debt, (Appendix B).

The False Dilemma: Don't Want Cuts But Can't Pay

For two decades we have been bombarded with the notion that we pay too much tax. What does the evidence show?

From 1976 to 1985, a majority of advantaged and middle-class Canadians, as well as Canadian corporations, enjoyed a tax holiday which resulted in a serious decline in public revenue. This was the initial factor contributing to Canada's current fiscal crisis. For the average Canadian these tax breaks took the form of full indexation in the personal income tax system and the substantial growth of tax shelters, such as RRSPs. Canada was the only G-7 country which experienced such a decline in public revenues, (Table 2).

The problem of a generalized tax holiday was compounded after 1987 when, in addressing revenue problems, the previous government broadened the tax base at the bottom and reduced the rates at the top, resulting in profound inequities in the tax system. These obvious changes have significantly reduced people's will to pay, especially in the light of continued reduction of publicly provided services and benefits.

Corporate contributions have declined most precipitously among all sources of federal tax revenue in the last twenty years. They accounted for only 7 per cent of federal revenues in 1992, down from 17 per cent in 1975. (They represented 25% of all federal revenue in 1955.) In relation to GDP, federal and provincial corporate contributions to public provision in Canada, both in taxes and social security payments, are lower than those in the U.S. and are the lowest of all G-7 countries, including Japan, (Appendix C). Apparently, Canadian corporations have some latitude to increase their contribution with no threat to their existing competitive position.

In 1990, former Finance Minister Michael Wilson accurately observed that Canada was "among the world's most lightly taxed industrial countries" (The Globe and Mail, March 29, 1990). This fact still holds, despite the current protestations to the contrary by the Finance Department. Recently, Canada's deputy finance minister was quoted as saying that "the tax burden on individual Canadians and corporations is higher than in any other major industrial power except France" (Toronto Star, March 10, 1994). The evidence does not support this assertion, (Appendices C, D and E).

In fact, average Canadians pay less than average Americans for a significantly better society. Relative to the U.S., average Canadians enjoy access to a universal health care system, an inclusive and well-funded system of public education, and higher levels of support for seniors, the unemployed and the poor. The cost? Contributions of average Canadians to total government revenue are above those in the U.S. before social security contributions are taken into account. When social security contributions are included, average Americans pay, more than average Canadians, (See Appendix D).

How should we pay for the debt? Cutting social programs to reduce the deficit makes no sense. The crisis of this period is not that we cannot afford to pay for social programs, but that we cannot afford to have an economy that does not work. The objective of reviewing social programs and public finances at this time should be to find fair and logical ways of paying for a system that works.

Perspective 3: National Options Exist to Enhance Social Security and Address the Deficit

For the past decade federal politicians have been telling us that there are no alternatives to cutting social entitlements. Canada does have national options for addressing the fiscal deficit which do not require us to dismantle the welfare state and erode the foundations of Canadian nationhood. Canadians should expect their federal government to exercise these options and play a key leadership role both domestically and internationally.

1. Focus on getting people back to work.

The only sustainable mechanism to reduce the deficit and restore financial health to the public and private spheres of society is full employment. A number of possibilities exist to create both more jobs and better jobs. First, we live in an era of paradox, where an unemployment crisis co-exists with more and more people working extremely long hours. Establishments which regularly rely on long hours of work - through paid overtime in examples such as heavy manufacturing and through unpaid overtime in examples such as managerial and professional salaried employees - should be required to reduce and redistribute working time so as to create new job openings.

Second, essential public services - such as child care, the development of preventive and corrective environmental technologies, supporting community-based health care, and building the training/upgrading infrastructure - should be prime sites of **public investment**, which in turn would generate needed and decently paid work.

Finally, in their capacity as corporate citizens, **more private sector job creation should be expected during a recovery**. This is only likely to occur, however, if: 1) **more of our savings are returned from offshore**, so they are made available for productive investment here; and 2) **more domestic consumption is supplied through domestic production,** rather than imports. These conditions can be met, respectively, by 1) returning foreign investment thresholds for pension/retirement plans to the 1989 levels (10% instead of the current 20%), re-routing about $25 billion back each year for investment in Canada; and 2) identifying key sectors of the economy as vital to the national interest (as has been the case for the defence industry) and setting domestic production targets in these sectors (e.g. heavy machinery related to resource-extraction, technology associated with hydroelectricity, pharmaceuticals, etc.).

2. Review the mechanisms for paying the debt.

Canadian taxpayers spend 25 cents of every tax dollar to service the $41 billion in federal debt charges. An increasing proportion of that money (8.6% in 1983 to 23.6% in 1992) simply leaves the country in the form of interest to foreigners who hold our debt. Reviewing these expenditures is at least as important as reviewing expenditures on social programs. A variety of mechanisms

could be weighed, from renegotiating the yields from bonds, to introducing interest rate controls, to relying more heavily on long term, strictly domestic instruments such as Canada Savings Bonds (which can only be held by residents and have historically been the prime mechanism for financing Canadian debt). Since the financial community has long been alerting us to the dangers of debt "crisis", they should be required to finance part of it. Canadian banks and other large bond-holders could be required to take marginally lower returns as part of the belt-tightening exercise that the government has required of the unemployed and working poor for the past three years.

3. Re-regulate capital internationally through a Tobin tax.

The issues raised by increasingly mobile capital cannot be addressed through national strategies alone. Every day almost $1 trillion is exchanged in financial paper across national borders, approximately 40 times the value of international trade in goods and services. Canada could assume a leadership role in the international community by calling for the introduction of a one per cent transaction tax to be imposed on all currency trading in order to discourage short-term speculation, reduce exchange rate volatility and generate revenue for governments. First introduced by Nobel prize-winning economist James Tobin from Yale University in the 1970s, this idea is gaining popularity as the scale of international monetary transactions threatens to destabilize real economic processes of production, consumption and distribution.

4. Generate tax reforms that address both equity and adequacy concerns.

Many studies show that the federal deficit starts in the mid 1970s due to an under collection of tax revenues, not overspending" Is there room for higher taxation? Who should bear these increases? These questions raise issues of both equity (who should contribute and how much?) and adequacy (what amounts are required for what levels of benefits and for whom?).

A comprehensive review of all forms of taxation and tax expenditures should be immediately undertaken. Tax expenditures such as retirement savings exemptions, protected family trusts and business corporate tax exemptions are perhaps more of a drain on public finances at a time of deficit crisis than social spending. In these cases, significant public revenues are "spent" on those who least need public support. As one example, the startlingly generous RRSP contribution limits could be reviewed as a possible source for financing the debt. (The current ceiling for RRSP contributions is $12,500, a limit wildly beyond the$2,567 claimed on average by 4 million Canadians in 1990, representing only 22% of tax filers, and causing the federal government to forfeit about $4 billion in revenues. A further $10 billion was forfeited through registered pension plans. The decision about how much of that could be retrieved is political, not economic.)

Tax deferrals and exemptions should also be reviewed. For example, the amount of federal taxes deferred by corporations due to fast write-offs for capital investment totalled about $3 billion in 1972. By the early 1990s, corporations had deferred almost $40 billion in federal taxes - roughly equivalent to the nation's debt servicing charges. If this is a fiscal crisis, it is reasonable to expect a review and reduction of such tax holidays.

The personal income tax system should also be reviewed regarding the rates of taxation, the numbers of tax brackets and their thresholds, noting that, between 1987 and 1989 the number of tax brackets fell from 10 to 3, with the top marginal rate of tax dropping from 36% to 29% while the bottom was boosted from about 7% to 17%. Alternative sources such as inheritance taxes or altering regulations regarding family trusts and/or capital gains exemptions should be examined. The construction of consumption taxes regarding the base, the rate, and harmonization with provincial taxes needs to be reassessed. So-called "payroll taxes" such as UI and CPP/QPP should be redesigned, with an eye to progressivity and sustainability. Finally, the possible disintegration of fiscal federalism as we know it (in particular the CAP and EPF structures) should lead to open discussion about reorganizing these public finances, for example through the development of a social investment fund.

Perspective 4: Preserving the Bonds of Nationhood Means Paying for Canada's Social Programs

"The options have become clear: either we continue to dismantle national programs, Both social and cultural, or we commit ourselves to paying for them. In so doing, we either make a commitment to democratic development - evidenced by people's growing capacity to participate and contribute - or we allow a drift to the polarization of American society, a society increasingly marked by marginalization, exclusion and desperation."

Redesigning the welfare state means improving existing programs and making new investments. At minimum, it means preserving the level of provision and the principles underlying provision - equity, inclusion, social cohesion. It does not mean having to protect every social program in its present form.

According to the federal government, asked what they want, Canadians overwhelmingly (78%) state that our social programs are essential. But this endorsement is contrasted by an edginess that calls into question the financial support of these programs every time their reform or review is mentioned.

The real "tough" choices facing Canadians arise from the fact that the linkage is rarely made between collection and provision. Too often the "how much tax" question gets played out in complete separation from what we are paying for.

Do Canadians have the capacity to pay for what they want? An entire culture is being cultivated in this country, convincing citizens that they pay too much in taxes. The legitimate questions underlying the reluctance to pay more are: "What am I paying for?" and "What is the other guy paying?" These concerns arise from the experience of taxes visibly increasing for most Canadians in recent years, while they lose benefits, services, supports and entitlements.

At the same time there has been an equally obvious growth in tax avoidance of wealthy Canadians and large corporations, who in some cases default on their own debts. Despite this performance, these are the same interest groups who seriously demand cutbacks from the unemployed and people on welfare. These everyday occurrences erode a sense of civic connectedness, the notion that we are all in this together.

Every year since the 1986-87 fiscal year, federal revenues have covered primary costs (all federal expenditures excluding the interest paid on the debt). Debt charges - paid to the private sector - have increasingly "crowded out" public investment and provision since then.

It is not necessary to borrow more money to undertake the public investments which must be made. A serious alternative to deficit management has been articulated in the previous section. In addition, we believe an important avenue to social and fiscal responsibility in public expenditures can be through self-financed designated funds.

Since the February 1994 budget it appears that the existing structure of fiscal federalism - financing structures supporting CAP and EPF, but also UI - is in demise. We raise the possibility of earmarked or designated funds, in combination with the preceding national options around the debt, as a means of sustaining national programs with national standards that respect the principles these programs were designed to support. Notably, the designated fund option ("hypothecated" funds) has become a serious part of the public policy debate in Britain (The Manchester Guardian, August 18, 1994; The Observer, August 21, 1994).

These mechanisms are not programs but an integrated strategy for maintaining broadly supported national programs. They suggest more sustainable financing mechanisms for emergent social needs, while creating new employment in areas where there is a demonstrated need for further public investment. These include: child care, lifelong learning, community-based health care, and environment technologies (both corrective and preventive).

Our experience with contributions for UI, CPP, Workers' Compensation and (provincially) health care, show us that Canadians are willing to pay directly for services they understand that they can or will need at some point in their lives. In this light, we propose that the federal government immediately consider the creation of designated funds requiring corporate and citizens' contributions in the following three areas:

1. **A National Labour Market Investment Fund**, financed by employer and employee contributions, but also with an increased contribution from general revenues. This would provide a self-sustaining joint federal/provincial fund for learning, training and community employment programs for all who seek such upgrading, regardless of whether they are high-school dropouts, unemployed, on welfare, retooling their skills or currently employed. The employer contribution could be based on a grant/levy system, to finance on-the-job training, for which the employer gets the benefit. The employee contribution could be a pro-rated premium. General revenues would finance general upgrading programs with high portability, such as literacy and numeracy, as well as a portion of apprenticeship programs. This fund would not provide income support for the unemployed, nor provide wage support for employed workers engaged in training.

2. **A National Social Investment Fund for Families and Children**, which would use new corporate and citizens' contributions and re-direct some existing federal revenue to pay for an enhanced social security system for families with children including: a progressive children's benefit; a comprehensive child care system (including maternal/parental income support); a child support assurance system; and a national youth endowment program).
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3. **A National Health Investment Fund**, financed by corporate and citizens' contributions, some of which would be a redirection of existing taxes. Canada, unlike most industrialized nations, has no national levy on health care. It would be possible to use such a fund to expand health services to cover dental and vision care, as well as drug expenditures for all citizens. Such an expansion of the system would remove considerable disincentives in the welfare to work transition, and relieve the privatized burden from a growing contingent workforce who have no coverage for basic benefits. Also, these benefits are expensive to finance in the private sector and are often invoked as a barrier to new hiring (in the form of a major fixed cost). Since pooling the risk across the entire population reduces costs (as evidenced by our Medicare system), it could be possible to create a level playing field among employers and reduce unit labour costs for many.

It is important to note that the sustainability of existing funds, such as our own Canada Pension Plan, depends on continuing political will to make sure that the contribution base is broad enough for the necessary coverage. This has been the European experience with public pension programs in contrast to our tendency to allow leakage of public revenue through tax benefits for private retirement plans.

This leaves two issues: income support for training; and income support for those who find themselves de-linked from the labour market.

It is possible to use UI as a more "active" system of income support for those who are training if: 1) existing "Developmental Uses" funds were re-allocated strictly to income support for the unemployed, rather than for direct training costs and wage supplementation; and 2) the UI system were re-designed to be more progressive, i.e. removing the ceilings, which would infuse the fund with more revenue, at least in the short term. (In the medium to long term the fund, being self-financing, would reduce the premium rates as premiums are set at levels that attempt to eliminate surplus or deficit from the fund over a three year horizon.)

The more difficult category for continued income support, which currently exists under the endangered CAP system, is for the non-photogenic poor: single employables. Though this system of investment funds relieves pressure from CAP, the need will still exist to provide, in a consistent manner, support for those unable to find sustaining work. If CAP is undone, its demise will pose a critical test of political and public will as to how we deal with those among us who tumble into this twilight world.

The crux of the issue remains this: It is not the fault of social policy that there is poverty and unemployment. What is proposed here is a fully integrated system of fiscally, sustainable mechanisms. In and of themselves, these proposed investment funds do not eradicate the unemployment problem; but they do create a more integrated approach for dealing with the problem.

CONCLUSIONS

Opening the Doors on Public Finance

Public finances are at the heart of the struggle to redefine the quality and scope of the Canadian welfare state. Ironically, the arena of debate about public finances has been largely closed to the public. In the formulation of budgets and fiscal plans, the Finance Department relies on only one dominant perspective - the way to good nationhood is through the market. Looking at public finances through the lens of the marketplace has led us to prescribe balanced budgets through cutting costs. These costs are virtually equated with social spending.

What is missing in the spending cuts "debate" is the connection between revenue and security, between collection and provision. The capacity to finance social needs exists when people know what they are paying for, and when increased contributions result in enhanced - not decreased - supports and services.

National Options Do Exist

Because so few alternative perspectives are sought and developed, the imperative to cut spending goes largely unchallenged in public discourse. What emerges is an apparent consensus, reaffirming that the fiscal crisis leaves us with no alternatives.

Other options do exist, as evidenced by the Liberals' pre-election campaign, which stressed that the deficit flows from not enough people working. Equally valid are approaches to refinance the debt, redesign taxes, and regulate capital (in partnership with other nations). If the crisis is as deep as is continuously asserted, there is a certain urgency to put all viable options on the table.

Our nation is at a crossroads. If we do not address the lack of sustainable employment opportunities in this country, we continue to erode public will to support one another. If we do not pay for the programs we value, we dismantle them - as we are witnessing.

Public Leadership

The social security and fiscal reforms we are about to engage in are not just about programmatic changes. They are about redefining nationhood. Current trends reduce the role of government and charge markets with the role of creating wealth and social cohesion. Slow economic growth only accentuates the degree to which these goals conflict. This raises the stakes for a renewed commitment to public responsibility, just at a time when it appears to be on the wane.

It is time to restore a sense of trust in public institutions and government. National governments should be expected to set limits on the culture of "passive consumption", demanding that the

marketplace must provide a living as well as a lifestyle. Canada must propose and take up the challenge of governing as if more than the economy matters, both at home and on the global stage. Designated funds are but one avenue of restoring a sense of trust in government and accountability, to the public. We require political and civic leadership in opening serious options for debate at this critical juncture in our history'.

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Time for a Civic Declaration on Decent Work and Basic Incomes for All (2014)

Commentary by: Jamie Swift

I first met Marvyn Novick when working with the Interfaith Social Assistance Reform Coalition (ISARC), Ontario's principal faith based social justice organization. This was in the early 2000s and Marvyn had undertaken, under the aegis of the Social Planning Network of Ontario, a sort of barnstorming tour.

The dynamic fellow with the salt-and-pepper beard and the passionate gesticulations was an entertaining and compelling speaker. His commitment to the common good was matched only by his profound understanding of the way that public policy can assist those unlucky enough to be living with less.

Not long retired from a distinguished academic career as Dean of The Faculty of Community Services at Ryerson University, Marvyn crisscrossed the province from Cornwall to Thunder Bay, addressing people concerned about poverty in one of the world's richest places. The gatherings took place in church basements, union halls, civic and community centres.

Much social justice work had a social assistance focus, in part because people on social assistance had not nearly recovered from the 1995 poor-bashing attack by the Harris Progressive Conservatives. (They still haven't, far from it.) Yet Marvyn insisted in his radical "communities of shared opportunity" document (Poverty Free Ontario Bulletin #13)[1] that tackling "working poverty" was no less important than raising social assistance rates. So, he consistently emphasized decent work and income security.

As usual, Marvyn's analysis was based on a keen sense of what was happening to the working class. He took note of the growth of "precarious employment" and the gnawing insecurity of those "disconnected from the labour market temporarily or permanently." Three years earlier another prescient observer of these trends had identified this new emerging class as "the precariat" – a term coined by French sociologists in the 1980s. Guy Standing described the precariat as "the new dangerous class" -- stressed out and lacking a sense of secure, work-based identity, and "prone to listen to ugly voices."

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1 Poverty Free Ontario, *Time for a Civic Declaration on Decent Work and Basic Incomes for All*, Bulletin #13, September, 2014

Standing's book had appeared in 2011, years before Trump, Brexit…and Doug Ford. [2]

When Marvyn was preparing the SPNO decent work and basic income paper, the Poverty and Employment Precarity in Southern Ontario (PEPSO) research group was producing the results of its groundbreaking research on the precariat in southern Ontario. Barely half of those the researchers engaged had permanent, full-time jobs. In "Getting Left Behind" (2018) the PEPSO team would reveal that, during the previous seven years of strong economic growth, temporary jobs grew much faster than permanent jobs. "People's wellbeing hasn't improved with the growing economy. One third of all workers still reported poorer mental health in 2017 and rates of anxiety related to employment remained largely unchanged with almost 40 percent of workers reporting that anxiety about employment interferes with their personal and family lives." [3]

It was against this alarming background that Marvyn emphasized, as he had previously in his 1984 paper for the Canadian Mental Health Association, the importance of a life cycle model that would mix "productive employment" with what he called "non-economic" activities of family and community life. [4]

Thirty years later things had changed rather dramatically and Marvyn knew it. "Today, in a post-industrial society, good and decent jobs seem a faint hope." But he implicitly recognized the crucially important difference between work and commodified labour – the "jobs" so central to the traditional social democratic imagination.

"While good jobs in the traditional economy appear to be scarce, there is no lack of work needed to create a truly sustainable society," he wrote. "We need to re-balance our economy from one heavily tilted towards private wealth creation and concentration to one of collective stewardship of our human and financial resources offering shared opportunity for all." [5]

This is where Marvyn's idea of "communities of shared opportunity" comes into play. It's worth noting that he had an eye for a catchy turn of phrase, a few words that he hoped would appeal to a broad public. Community. Sharing. Opportunity. All attractive terms freighted with positive feelings. Indeed, in his classic 1976 work *Keywords*, the English cultural critic Raymond Williams explained that "unlike all other terms of social organization (*state, nation, society* etc.) community never seems to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term." [6]

Marvyn was aware of the importance of key words. But at those meetings from Cornwall to Thunder Bay he would occasionally let slip a few words that told us what he

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2 Standing, Guy, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* Bloomsbury, London 2011, p.1-25

3 https://pepso.ca/research-projects Accessed April 30, 2019

4 *Work and Well-Being: The Changing Realities of Employment*, CMHA, Toronto, 1984)

5 Poverty Free Ontario, 2014

6 Williams, Raymond, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, London: Fontana, 1976, p. 76

really thought. So it was that his 2014 Poverty Free Ontario paper included the blunt declaration that "After forty years of market-driven, neo-liberal social and economic policy, it is time to disengage from the tyranny of global capital . . . "[7]

In 2010 a group of social justice promoters working under the ISARC umbrella organized a debate at Kingston City Hall. Then Senator Hugh Segal, a longtime Basic Income Guarantee supporter, faced off with Marvyn, a Basic Income critic. The two had known each other growing up in Montreal. I recall that Marvyn's critique of Basic Income – an idea that has gained significant momentum in the succeeding nine years – was far from strident. More a thoughtful note of caution about how BI could be used by neo-liberal regimes to replace most welfare state programs with market driven policies.

As it turned out, Hugh Segal's 2016 study for Ontario's Liberal Government led to a Basic Income pilot project. It did not propose an attack on public provision. Rather, it sought to remove intrusive surveillance while leaving no pilot participants worse off. The BI pilot, summarily terminated by the Ford government in 2019, was not a "Big Bang" effort that replaced social supports with a monthly cheque.

I expect that Marvyn would have considered the Ontario BI pilot as a step (certainly not the only step) along the road to social justice. As he explained in 2014, "Social policy emphasizing the workforce as the route out of poverty subjects people to low wage and precarious work and promotes 'workfare'."[8] He knew that labour market and income support policies need to be tightly woven together. And that work and labour are two very different things.

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7 Poverty Free Ontario, 2014

8 Poverty Free Ontario, 2014

Poverty Free Ontario
Pulling poverty out by the roots

SPNO

Bulletin #13

September 19, 2014

Creating Communities of Shared Opportunity across Ontario:
Time for a Civic Declaration on Decent Work and Basic Incomes for All

The Social Planning Network of Ontario (SPNO) was active and instrumental in making child poverty a major issue in the 2007 election and, in partnership with the Interfaith Social Assistance Reform Coalition (ISARC), SPNO mobilized the Poverty Free Ontario (PFO) network to keep poverty eradication alive in communities across Ontario during the 2011 election. Many of PFO's cross-community partners revived the *"Let's Vote for a Poverty Free Ontario"* election sign campaign in the just concluded 2014 provincial election, which produced a majority Liberal government.

Where does SPNO/PFO go from here with the poverty eradication agenda under the new political scene?

Retrospective on Impact of SPNO's Poverty Eradication Strategy

Seven years ago in its spring meeting on Toronto Island, SPNO set an advocacy agenda for active promotion among its member organizations' communities across Ontario in the provincial election scheduled for October 2007. The record of the Toronto Island discussion clearly states the intent to demand that timelines and targets be established, first for the reduction of child and family poverty within five years and then a plan for its elimination in Canada's sesquicentennial year 2017. Several major strategies in a poverty reduction and elimination plan were proposed:

a) "sustaining employment", so that no families in which a member worked full-year, full-time remained living in poverty; and
b) a full child benefit ($5400 per child in poorest families) to supplement employment income in recognition of the public interest in supporting the costs of raising children.

In addition, the SPNO members reaffirmed the importance of strengthening the community support base (e.g. early learning, affordable housing, community support services) as an important component of a poverty reduction strategy.

SPNO recognized decent work and putting an end to working poverty as the cornerstone of its child and family poverty reduction agenda. The record of SPNO's discussion in 2007 clearly addressed the false

contentions of the "welfare wall" proponents. SPNO rejected the notion that people had to be kept in destitution as an incentive to leave social assistance to accept low wage work.

While the $100/month Healthy Food Supplement proposal and the Put Food in the Budget (PFIB) campaign would not be shaped for two years, the SPNO meeting in the spring of 2007 laid the groundwork for new benchmarks to end both working poverty and deep poverty, calling for a "just differential" between social assistance rates and the minimum wage. Notes of the SPNO meeting indicate that the goal by 2017 should be to get working people 20% above the poverty line and people on social assistance up to the poverty line, first by making sure no social assistance recipient lived in deep poverty (below 80% of the poverty line).

These commitments among the SPNO membership on Toronto Island in 2007 became the central messages for a cross-community awareness campaign over the summer and fall months running up to the election. Along with SPNO's report naming Ontario the "child poverty centre of Canada", the community meetings and media coverage contributed to Premier McGuinty's promise to develop a child and family poverty reduction strategy within the first year of his new administration, if re-elected.

Since 2007, SPNO's positions on sustaining employment supplemented with essential income supports to reduce and eliminate poverty have been incorporated into major campaigns focusing on raising the minimum wage (WAC's Minimum Wage Campaign)[1] and moving social assistance rates towards adequacy (Put Food in the Budget)[2]. The Liberal Government has shown movement towards the demands of the Minimum Wage Campaign. And, persistent cross-community advocacy since 2009 has resulted in resolutions expressing support for the $100/month HFS in 25 Ontario municipalities and recommendation by the Social Assistance Review Commissioners, leading to the first real income increase in social assistance rates in the 2013 provincial budget in twenty years.[3]

Decent Work and Basic Income Strategies through the Life Cycle

In recent years, the debate about a Guaranteed Annual Income or Basic Income has re-emerged as it has periodically since the 1960s. The prospect of some kind of clear, simple universal income security program is alluring. Expressions of interest from all parts of the political spectrum suggest a potential political consensus on a guaranteed income, which is as unusual as it is attractive.

Where does SPNO's position on poverty eradication and inequality fit in this current discourse? Does the Basic Income approach require us to abandon or re-think our public policy stance since 2007? How should SPNO position itself on this issue as the new provincial government takes office and the federal election approaches in 2015?

If "basic" income means establishing a floor of income adequacy that enables individuals and families to

1 http://www.workersactioncentre.org/issues/minimum-wage/

2 http://putfoodinthebudget.ca/

3 A 4% increase to the OW Basic Needs Allowance in the 2013 provincial budget ($26/month) was the first real income increase for OW recipients since the 1995 cuts of 22%, all other 1%-2% adjustments since 2003 being for cost of living, and at that were below the annual rate of inflation in several of those years.

maintain their health and dignity by meeting the cost of daily living needs, then clearly SPNO supports such policy. Some part of the population disconnected from the labour market temporarily or permanently by their situation and personal circumstances (e.g. single parents, persons with disabilities) will require income support programs at basic, adequate levels to ensure that they do not live in poverty. Most will depend on some form of paid work to get by. Too many of these community members in part-time and precarious employment at minimum wage levels cannot meet their basic daily living needs with their earnings.

Social policy emphasizing the workforce as the route out of poverty subjects people to low wage and precarious work and promotes "workfare" for those dependent on income supports, while reliance on income support programs only inevitably sets rates well below adequacy in terms of basic living requirements. How can labour market and income support policy work together to ensure that poverty is eradicated for all in Ontario?

We already have income support models that recognize the relationship between work and income for vulnerable parts of the population. Old Age Security and the Guaranteed Income Supplement for retiring workers introduced in the 1970s to supplement private pension income and CPP benefits had a major impact on reducing seniors' poverty to below 4%, and were indexed to protect their purchasing power against inflation. Granted, the GIS and CPP need enhancement now to maintain these gains.

It is possible to extend this supplemental income support approach to other stages of life in which people have varying attachments to the workforce. We can think of strategies for decent work and basic income across all stages of the life cycle, which recognize an appropriate and mutually reinforcing relationship between labour market participation and income support requirements as the following suggests:

a) Children and youth (0-25) – Income support for this stage in life is important largely in the context of supporting young people in their families. A full National Child Benefit for families recognizes the need for lower income families to have help with the additional costs of raising children (Campaign 2000's call for increasing the current maximum of $3200/child up to 18 years to $5,500 is consistent with the Basic Income approach suggestion). A Youth Income Benefit for young people 18 to 25 years would enable "debt free" learning and training opportunities and transition to work in their formative years.

b) Early and middle adulthood (25-55) – Working age and family adults need positive work experiences in their early adult years and social engagement through employment that allows them to make important civic contributions. It should be a requirement of public policy that decent work with living wages and sound social protections (pension, health, and other social insurances) be available to all working age adults. Working age adults without decent work should have the assurance of community and civic employment at living wages through the non-profit and local public services sectors. Decent work is becoming ever less available in the low wage labour markets of the corporate sector.

c) Later adulthood (55+) – Begin to extend eligibility for the GIS down from full retirement years to this stage of adulthood. This would protect incomes as needed for adults phasing down from active engagement in the labour market prior to full retirement. The GIS must be upgraded for those fully withdrawn from the workforce when their incomes after OAS and CPP and other pension income are inadequate. This would restore full poverty elimination for seniors, a Canadian legacy first achieved in the 1970s.

d) Appropriate income and service frameworks must be available to support the extraordinary social circumstances for persons with disabilities and persons with chronic physical and mental health conditions.

This approach does not substitute income for employment earnings, nor does it compel workforce participation in order receive income support. It recognizes that earnings from employment are an important component of maintaining a livelihood, but that that labour market detachment at any stage of the life cycle should not condemn one to poverty. Both wage protections and income guarantees are required.

Reframing Decent Work

Since 2007 (and for many of us a decade or more before), SPNO and its cross-community partners in the PFO network have focused a lot of attention on income adequacy – increasing social assistance rates to end deep poverty; raising the minimum wage to get full-time, full-year earners above the poverty line. This concentrated attention has led to some gains and movement of the policy debates in a good direction but we may be allowing ourselves to remain confined to "minimalist" positions when it comes to framing what we think decent work should be. Notably, more communities are not just advocating for raising the minimum wage but are also for work at a "living wage".

The availability of good and decent jobs should be seen as much of a challenge today as it was at the height of the industrial revolution in the 19th century.[4] Today, in a post-industrial society, good and decent jobs seem a faint hope. Our youth in particular struggle to establish any secure foothold in the labour market, and, even with higher levels of education, remain subject to mostly short-term and precarious employment. In the face of increasing tuition and living costs for post-secondary education, many youth accumulate high levels of debt and graduate into an economy that offers mostly poor paying service jobs. We are at risk of condemning our younger generations in particular to dismal, unfulfilling futures and chronic spells of poverty and exclusion. Productive employment in these formative early years of labour force participation is critical.

While good jobs in the traditional economy appear to be scarce, there is no lack of work needed to create a truly sustainable society. It is time to reframe the notion of good jobs in terms of work that needs to be done to build and strengthen our social and civic infrastructure. We need to re-balance our economy from one tilted heavily towards private wealth creation and concentration to one of collective

[4] Industrial manufacturing jobs in the 19th century were low paying and conducted in unsafe and unhealthy working conditions until unions organized for collective action among labourers and social reformers introduced public controls and regulations for improved employment

stewardship of our human and financial resources offering shared opportunity for all.

Quality employment guarantees are critical for youth and younger adults as they enter the workforce supplemented with income programs as they make transitions through their working lives. Government incentives and partnerships with the private sector (retail, commercial, industrial) should be directed toward the creation and support of decent, well-paying, career development jobs. There is hope that the private sector might recognize its role in contributing to a collective purpose that adequately compensates workers while securing a fair return on investment.

Realistically, however, we should look to city governments and the community sector to show leadership, as the City of Seattle is doing by making a commitment to the highest minimum wage ($15/hour) in North America in response to a strong community advocacy movement.[5] Even recently here in Ontario, the Put Food in the Budget campaign mobilized across communities to secure resolutions in support of the $100/month Healthy Food Supplement in 25 city councils, which was cited by the Social Assistance Review Commissioners in their own recommendation in support of the HFS.

After forty years of market-driven neo-liberal social and economic policy, it is time to disengage from the tyranny of global capital and to restore social justice from the ground up with a Civic Declaration on decent work and basic incomes for all. As in Seattle, city governments and the community sector must join their voices to demand senior government support for good jobs in business and in public services. The continued importance of work by nurses, teachers, firefighters and librarians as well as in the social, environmental, recreational and arts and culture sectors must be respected. Governments should support community and civic employment strategies in the public and non-profit sectors that enable youth and younger adults to start life with a solid foundation of productive employment that builds and strengthens our social, cultural and environmental infrastructure. Civic Declarations directed to this collective purpose would both stimulate economic development and grow the next generation of an active and engaged citizenry.

We have a common stake in creating communities of shared opportunity for all. Investing in work that protects and enhances our environment, supports civic and community well-being, and grows local economies will produce social and economic benefits for all. Pursuing this path will demand the activation of a collective stewardship that engages all parts of the community in a discussion of how to work together for the common good. What work needs to be done to create and sustain the kinds of communities that we want to live in? What can business, labour, civic and community leaders do to contribute to that shared purpose? How can the role of the non-profit sector be expanded as a source of decent work and sustainable development?

Creating Communities of Shared Opportunity

We need to re-frame decent work and basic incomes in terms of solidarity, with a mission to create *communities of shared opportunity* for all across Ontario, while recognizing the complexity of actual human experience through different stages of the life-cycle. We have an obligation to offer other

[5] http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/jun/07/seattle-minimum-wage-fifteen-dollars-fight http://prospect.org/article/revolt-cities

guarantees, most critically that our younger generations will have the opportunity to make their contribution to sustainable social and economic development through the application of their energies, skills and talents in the public, civic, non-profit, and corporate sectors.

We call on cities and communities to lead the way in framing Civic Declarations for decent work and basic incomes to eradicate poverty within this decade, and to create communities of shared opportunity for all across Ontario.

To this end, it is proposed that the Social Planning Network of Ontario join with its network of community leaders and organizations in Poverty Free Ontario to engage our communities in a discussion of the central tenets of a Civic Declaration, to test its resonance as a herald for structural change, and to explore its implications for both local and cross-community ground-swelling action for social justice in Ontario.

Peter Clutterbuck and Marvyn Novick

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Building a New Canada:
Social Inclusion and Civic Solidarity

Speech to Provincial/Territorial Social Services Ministers (1991)

Commentary by: Laurie Monsebraaten

The optimism and promise of Ontario's first NDP government in the early 1990s – and Marvyn Novick's speech to provincial-territorial social service ministers in Toronto during that time -- remain beacons of hope amid the cuts and chaos of Doug Ford's fledgling Progressive Conservative government in 2019.

As host of the 1991 provincial-territorial conference, Ontario's social services minister, Zanana Akande, was basking in the glow of her government's first budget. Despite a crippling recession, the NDP was investing in affordable housing, recommitting to social assistance reform and expanding non-profit child care.

At a time when Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives in Ottawa were slashing Canada Assistance Plan payments to provinces, Marvyn's speech focused on the need for federal-provincial-municipal partnerships, universal programs and a "common mission" to tackle problems facing vulnerable families and individuals. He noted that cross-national research clearly demonstrates that reduced federal government investment, more targeted, and less universal programs result in higher rates of poverty and inequality.

His words are just as relevant today.

After nearly a generation of austerity and efforts to reduce deficits by curtailing investments in social programs, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's federal Liberals have renewed social spending for housing, child care and public health initiatives. But the Ford government in Ontario is taking a step back. Instead, Premier Ford is weakening social assistance, cancelling the basic income pilot project, gutting child care safety regulations and sucking support for at risk youth from public education.

Indeed, Ford seems determined to erase social gains under the previous provincial Liberals and to make war with the Trudeau Liberals and the City of Toronto. It is hard to believe the June 2018 election that swept Ford to power featured provincial Liberal and NDP leaders proposing sweeping welfare reform, public drug and dental benefits for low-income working people, a new housing benefit and inclusionary zoning, a basic income, free child care for pre-schoolers and a $15 minimum wage. Municipalities struggling with mounting homelessness, child care wait lists and increasing poverty, were cheering.

These provincial initiatives, coupled with the federal government's indexed child benefit, $7 billion national child care framework (under-funded, yes, but a framework upon which to build none-the-less), $40 billion national housing strategy and an enhanced workers' benefit were laying the ground work for true social change. Canada's first national poverty reduction strategy with a goal of cutting poverty for everyone — not just children — by 20 per cent by 2020 and 50 per cent by 2030, showed how the two levels of government were working together on a common mission to strengthen social supports for all citizens.

The election of Doug Ford's Progressive Conservatives was a huge set back. It heralds a return to targeted support for individuals and families living in poverty and a likely push towards private delivery of social assistance and child care. Under Ford, social programs will not be viewed as universal public services.

Ford could certainly learn from Marvyn's words to federal-provincial ministers and their staff in 1991. Targeted programs meet just one of the four goals of social policy and are not cost-effective. As Marvyn noted, programs for the poor will always be poor programs.

At the time of Marvyn's speech, the National Child Benefit had not even been introduced. Thirty years later, the Trudeau government's new and consolidated Canada Child Benefit has the potential to do for children what the Guaranteed Income Supplement and Old Age Security did for seniors in the 1960s and 1970s. Marvyn saw the introduction of income security programs for seniors as an example of what governments can accomplish when there is a partnership among governments and a common mission. The federal government is now committed to addressing poverty for all residents, not just for children, a recognition some of the country's highest poverty rates are among single working-age adults, racialized Canadians, people with disabilities and Indigenous peoples.

But without a partner in Ontario — the country's largest province — Marvyn's vision is stalled. As he said in 1991, strong social policy requires partnerships, universal programs and a common mission. It is a message that rings true today and one that social policy advocates must continue to promote -- especially in Ontario where so much is now at risk.

March 2020

Laurie Monsebraaten was the social justice reporter for The Toronto Star.

SPEAKER: MARVYN NOVICK
Issue of Partnership

14:10 - 14:40

Autobiography: (Tape non functioning in beginning)

...where I served as Senior Program Director until 1982. The areas of interest that I developed at the Social Planning Council were in the fields of:

- income security;
- community support programs; and
- race relations.

In '82 I went off to Ryerson to become Dean of the Faculty of Community Services, and currently am a Professor of Social Policy in the School of Social Work.

Some of my activities that you may be interested in; I had the privilege for five years of serving on the National Board of the Canadian Mental Health Association, and those of you familiar with the CMHA know that it is built on partnerships between the National Office, the Division Offices in the Provinces, and the Branch Offices, and had a chance to see productive partnerships at work in a major national project on mental health and work, which was really done across five communities which included Fort McMurray, the Miramachi, Chattam Newcastle, North Battleford, Yellowknife and St. Catharines.

I am a Co-founder of the Child Poverty Action Group in 1985, and we issued the declaration in '86 called a Fair Chance for All Children that first focused national attention on the issues of child poverty, and I am currently a Program Consultant to the Children at Risk Program with the Laidlaw Foundation in Toronto which is looking at a five year national program of funding research, policy development and practice innovation as it relates to children who are growing up in disadvantage because of deprivation, dislocation, that is in surrogate or substitute care or who have been subject to historical domination.

So that's a little bit of a snapshot of who is addressing you.

I want to begin with context. I, too, as the speaker this morning, will suggest that we are clearly at another historical moment in the evolution of social policy in Canada, for many of the same reasons: issues of national reconciliation; questions of fiscal constraints; impacts of globalization; and, I will add the issue of how do we manage this vast social policy system which has been created in the post-war period. This is a period of what one might call critical reappraisal and part of that critical reappraisal has to do with how much do we restructure. What new frameworks do we have to create? How much do we renew existing frameworks? What are the pressing priorities and where are the most promising possibilities for initiatives?

It is not a foregone conclusion of what we ought to do, as I will suggest to you. And it is clear that at historical moments, decisions at this time will shape the directions of social policy into the next century. I think that is quite clear.

I want to begin by stating that we must be clear about the assumptions upon which we answer these questions about the new directions or shaping new directions for social policy. I agree that social policy and economic policy are mutually supportive. There is no hierarchy - I would agree with that. They are mutually supportive. However, we need a far more soundly based system of knowledge. I would submit to you, on the implications of globalization, we cannot fly with the seat of our pants on sweeping assumptions that have yet to be substantiated. For example, the notion that globalization will mean only, or primarily, an intensification of human capital and a knowledge-based economy. We have to study that further. Harvard economist, Robert Reich, in a recent book called the Work of Nations has suggested that the labour force of the future will be divided into thirds. And that one third of that labour force will be what he calls, "symbolic workers", the knowledge-based leaders of the economy - in the professions, in the enterprises, in the universities. Another third of that labour force will be engaged in employment, technical in nature, administrative in nature, that supports what he calls the "symbolic workers". And another third of the labour force will have very little to do with the human capital knowledge-based economy. They will be engaged in various domestic jobs, to maintain the society in both the public and the private sectors. What Reich is suggesting is what many Europeans have been worried about in the eighties, and in the seventies, and that has been are we on the verge of creating what they call the two-thirds, one-third society. The two-thirds, one-third society is a society in which we can look after two-thirds of the people through the labour market and through the economy and where we have to figure out what do we do with the other third of that population. So that when we are told that its all oriented toward human capital knowledge based development, we've got to be careful about knowing how far we can go in that direction. Because it isn't clear yet that promoting vast migrations between the regions of Canada is necessary or desirable in this future economy.

The implications of this proposal that we encourage vast migrations as part of an open economy pursuing value added knowledge based industries is that we will allow regional disparities to grow as we encourage migration. And very often, the most talented will be encouraged to move to the growth areas. We have to ask ourselves what forms of sustaining employment will we create for that one third or possibly larger group who will not be part of the knowledge sector and its supporting

infrastructure. And clearly we need hard, comparative and historical evidence, not dogma, about what role the state plays in building an economy with global strengths. Is the state an enabler? Is it the passive investor? Is it an active partner? We have been weak in Canada, exceptionally weak in developing hard, comparative and historical evidence, rather than moving with hypotheses where people know the answers before the questions have been posed.

Let me submit to you, therefore, that when we look at the evolution of social policy in the next period of time, in the context of these four areas, that we not swallow uncritically contentions, that they must be subject to review and we must be clear upon the foundations upon which we are proceeding.

I want to put another set of perspectives before you and that has to do with the role of social policy in a nation and in a society. I will submit to you that there are four roles that we see historically for social policy. Interestingly enough, the evolution of modern, welfare states has very little to do with compassion. The first social insurances in the 19th century were introduced by Bismarck as part of the nation building process of Germany. It was recognized that national social programs provide important citizenship bonds that sustain a nation. We are not the only country that has come to recognize that social programs are at the heart of nationhood. Because, what social programs do is they reflect values and they create, not the principles of citizenship, but the real daily life meaning of citizenship to people. What it means to be sick, what it means to have a need for support, what it means to be helped through into old age. The other country for whom social programs had very little to do with compassion was Sweden. The Swedish Welfare State that we see today developed because in the '20's there was a fear that emigration from Sweden would reduce the viability of the Swedish nation. And the theme that accompanied the formation of the Swedish Welfare State was called the pursuit of what was called the "Volksheim" (I think this should be the Swedish "volkshem", rather than the German "Volksheim" - ed. CB) - the "People's Home"; that social programs ought to create a living environment, and a set of bonds amongst people, to keep that nation viable. So when we look at social programs in Canada, as we did in the last three or four years, particularly around the Free-Trade debate, there was a consensus across most political parties that social programs did play an essential role in nation building.

Secondly, what's the second role of social programs. They contribute to the standard of living in a modern society. The market alone cannot meet the needs of the vast majority of people. The vast majority of people cannot buy the education, health care, protection for old age, protection for risk and

contingency, therefore, the second contribution of social programs is they are part of, along with market goods and services, what we call the standard of living in our society.

Thirdly. They reinforce economic objectives. No doubt about that. Workplace benefits, and social programs enhance productivity. We know that. One of the fastest growing areas of social program development is at the workplace these days. It's corporate employers discovering that family assistance programs and other forms of social support, enhance productivity. So that's a third function.

The fourth, is that they do promote values and compassion for the less fortunate in our society. But let me submit to you that when we say targeting is the primary focus of social policy, or ought to be the primary focus of social policy, we are only addressing one of the four roles of social policy and undermining the other three.

Let me further suggest that there is two kinds of recognition in the entitlements to social policy. Yes, there is recognition of need, no question about it, individual community workplace. Social programs are needed at the workplace because they enhance productivity. But the other recognition that social programs provide is recognition of contribution. They recognize not just needs but contribution. One of the last universal programs introduced, that I am aware of, in Canada, was introduced by the Conservative government of Ontario in 1980. And it was direct grants of up to $500 to each senior to offset property taxes, of pensioners. The question was why should this program be universal. Well the budget statement says we wish to build an element of universality in this program in order to recognize the life-long contribution made by all pensioners to our community. Recognize the contribution, not arguing need.

In Europe, family support policies that are at the heart of most European countries, are there for both reasons. They recognize both contribution and need. They recognize that adults who raise children make a contribution into the society and they also layer these programs in order to provide for special need. Family support policies are not welfare programs. They never have been. Which is one of the reasons why they are strong and sustaining. Universalism, therefore, has been one of the ways in which societies enact their sense of responsibility for the contribution of others to the society.

Let me say, that in the social policy field, we become far less dogmatic in the last fifteen years, and much more has been learned through hard cross-national research on welfare state development in Western societies. Unfortunately, most of this

research is done in the United States and Europe. We do not have strong national research yet in Canada.

One of the major leaders of cross-national research on social policy in how welfare states develop is the social policy analyst by the name of Harold Wilensky originally from Wayne State University and now at Berkley. He has provided six propositions that I want to share with you that look at patterns of welfare state development.

Proposition 1.

The extent to which national governments have responsibility will result in higher levels of social provision and more emphasis on equality.

Secondly.

That when you have decentralization in Western societies, combined with internal social divisions based on religious, ethnic or regional differences, this will result in reduced social provision. Need a broad set of shared values to sustain social programs.

Point #3.

The middle class will revolt against the welfare state under two conditions: one, they perceive the financing of social services as unequitable; and secondly, they are excluded from the benefits of major programs.

Four.

Systems of contributory financing, and indirect taxation, evoke less resistance than direct and visible tax measures.

Five.

The expansion of occupational benefits at the workplace reduces support for public programs. The more well-to-do get from their employers the less well-to-do come to depend on the state. The more we build in major social benefits in the workplace, the more we reduce the state for those who are less well-off.

And last point.

Modest income populations, what we call the working class, for them inclusion in benefits is often more important than redistribution in social programs.

These were observations that Wilensky made in 1976. He has updated his work in '87 and come to some further conclusions about the nature of welfare state development. He has said that welfare states need a minimum threshold of effectiveness, in order to be worthwhile. What does he mean by that.

He says that states that are decentralized, targeted residual, are hardly worth the money that is put into them. You get poorer investments per dollar in states that are targeted residual, than you do in universal welfare states. And he cites three reasons.

One. Welfare states that are based on targeting, selectivity only, breed social conflict. They increase poverty independence, rather than reduce it, and therefore squander human resources, and they lower the quality of life for everyone. And of course, sitting in the United States, it would not be hard for him to find confirmation of that contention. A residual or a targeted or welfare state for the poor in the United States, if we have evidence of social conflict that is evidence in crime, increase dependence in the highest poverty rates, infant mortality, lower quality of life for everyone. There is hardly an urban culture in the United States because cities are unusable. A lot of modern political language, discussion rather, these days, is in what I call coded language. Coded language is when you want to say unpopular things but you don't want their unpopularity to be clearly understood. So we have coded language, we don't talk about unemployment, we talk about labour force adjustment. We don't talk about lay-offs and closures, we talk about rationalization. Back when I was working in the ghettos, nobody talked about putting blacks in their place, it was called law and order. Today we don't, we say traditional sources of immigration because we haven't got the political courage to say 'white'. I want to submit the following set of codes that I think have entered into the social policy and constitutional debate. I want to suggest to you that advocates of devolution and decentralization are coding a set of objectives that include a) the reduction of social spending, b) more targeting, c) the acceptance of major regional and social disparities. And I want to submit that those who argue for national responsibility, national standards, national programs, are prepared to extend social spending, preserve universalism, and pursue regional equalization and increase social equality.

I want to say that because the coding very often takes us into discussions that are secondary to the intent. And I don't want to spend time now, but I'm prepared, if you are interested, to give you examples of what the devolution decentralization objectives essentially mean in terms of the structure of social entitlements. I should however indicate, from the Wilensky piece, and other cross-national work that has been done, that if

we are concerned, for example, about poverty, the conclusions are clear. Western societies with the lowest levels of poverty have the strongest levels of universality and the most limited use of social assistance. Western societies with the highest levels of poverty are the most highly targeted and have limited universality. I want to cite this because if we get to partnerships, I want to suggest that partnerships operate on many levels. Partnerships operate clearly constitutionally, the relationship between governments in a federal system. There is social partnerships, the relationship of government, community and enterprises and unions, and there is culture partnership, shared national values, common civic virtues, the broad solidarities that ultimately underlie political will. I should indicate to you that one of the things these cross-national studies do indicate is that there is no economic reasons to limit the size of the welfare state. These conclusions have been coming out from the OECD in Paris for the last fifteen years. There are no economic reasons to limit the size of the welfare state. You can have as big a welfare state as you want as long as you are willing to pay for it. As long as you are willing to pay for it. The problem has never been the size of the welfare state, the problem has been the deficits because of an unwillingness to pay for what is provided. I would submit to you that when we come to the issue of partnerships, Canada has a proud record in one area with respect to partnerships. Thirty years ago the poverty of Canada's elderly was the shame of this country. Old age pensioners living on forty dollars a month were a source of moral outrage in this country. And we did show in the sixties and seventies that we were capable of putting together effective partnerships - federal, provincial, municipal, voluntary and even, the market system with its special pricing policies that have given us over this period of time some of the lowest rates of poverty, and disadvantage for seniors in the Western world. That's a case of where partnership showed that it worked in Canada. We created a national system of income security, housing, services and support with each level of government doing what it could contribute best. That's what partnership essentially is about. Because the partnership suggests that each part of the partnership has strengths to offer. Your own document indicates that partnership is more than a process, that is consultations, discussions, and its more than principles, laying out a social charter. Page eleven, under challenge three, it says, national vision which should inform leader discussions with the federal government must incorporate a shared perspective on social policy. So one of the things I would submit that partnership requires is a common mission. Is there a shared mission? We had one in Canada from the sixties through the seventies. The shared mission that made the partnership work is that the plight of seniors was a moral outrage to us. And across all political parties, because no one

political party owns the achievement of what we did with seniors. We responded and responded effectively. I would submit to you that the development of national family support policies to deal with the serious and I would submit socially dangerous erosion of living conditions for younger families with children can, and should, be one such mission. That the plight of younger families with children I would submit is the moral shame that we have to contend with today. You all know of course that Canada has the second highest levels of child poverty in the Western world. We know that, and this is the pessimism of the eighties, is that at the end of the period of recovery the levels of child poverty in Canada in '88 were no lower that what they were in the mid-seventies. Fifteen per cent that we achieved in '88 down from about 1920 at the peak of the recession was no better than what we could provide in the mid-'70's. So when we said let market driven forces and the labour market, let it do its job, it had some cyclical benefits, but it could not get us below the threshold. We have in looking at child and family poverty, a deeper set of issues. It's becoming clear to us that poverty is not just a condition experienced by a fixed group of people, poverty is a fairly dynamic state. In any five year period, anywhere from 25 per cent to one-third of Canadians will experience some form of poverty or near-poverty. So when we deal with poverty we are dealing then with the question of not just who the poor are but who falls into poverty. And one of the things that we are observing now is what we call not just the poor but the vulnerables. Vulnerable families. Who are vulnerable families. Vulnerable families are families who are out of poverty by the skin of their teeth. How? One of the ways that younger families have contended with recent economic conditions - higher costs of raising children, the fact that in certain areas wages have not gone up in real dollars, and more importantly the structure of jobs of course is eroded for many groups, the polarization. Many families have been able to sustain themselves by what we call becoming stretched, that is, using up reserve earning capacity. What is reserve earning capacity. In 1973, over 50 per cent of families could be in the mainstream on one income. In 1987, only 23 or 24 per cent of families could be in the mainstream on one income. Others were in the mainstream working middle class because of that second income. There is no more reserve earning capacity to draw upon. And the vulnerables are those that if some unanticipated life event occurs like separation, additional children, unemployment or dislocation to lower paying employment, and in minor instances, disability, they drop and drop suddenly. The vulnerables are part of this intergeneration of phenomenon. And so when we deal with the questions of the economic conditions that contribute to child and family poverty in Canada, we are dealing with not just the poor but with the risk that these sets of vulnerable families have. Families anywhere from above

poverty to let's say 90 per cent of the median. Let me give you an indicator of how this issue of younger families is becoming a source of concern. We know that single parents have historically been in a high group incidence wise in terms of child and family poverty. It is now also reflected in age cohorts. Families with adults 25 and under, both one and two earner families, in '73, 24 per cent of them were poor, younger families, one and two earner, under 25 had moved to 50 per cent poverty levels in '87. About 48 per cent. And for those under 35, with adults under 35, the poverty level went from 14 per cent in '73 to about 20 per cent in '87. What we are witnessing in Canada today, is a fastly eroding set of conditions for the new generation of families. We have deep social divisions which are developing today that clearly will become entrenched into the next century.

I would submit that this need for a shared mission on children and families is increasingly reflected across all parts of the political spectrum. It is reflected in the comments of the Ontario Minister this morning and her remarks. And on what has fuelled public support of the social assistance reform process in Ontario has been a strong desire across all parts of the population to deal with the issues of children and families and their life conditions. It is reflected in the work of the Senate Standing Committee, that was established when the Liberals still had a majority in the Senate. And this recognition about this area as a shared mission is interestingly enough reflected in an excellent piece, an excellent address, provided by Al Johnson, who of the Western PC Caucus on May 15th in which he introduced the issues of inequity, amongst different categories of families, which have been highlighted in the past week, but also reflected his experience as a member of the House Standing Committee on Child Poverty under Barbara Green's Chair that is due to report soon. He says, in his address to the Commons on May 15th, an opportunity exists for us to reestablish the family as a unifying factor as we design our constitutional relationships. This is still his quote. I can foresee a national program of family support that binds the country with common standards and commitments to national will being similar to our national medicare program and our pension legislation.

I submit that in looking at the Canadian partnerships at the government level we ask ourselves whether we do need a new framework, whether disentanglement is in our interest, whether provinces can go it alone, as the Group of 22 would suggest to us on income security, sometimes we in Canada become a little too chauvinistic when we look at our American colleagues. People in the '60's in the United States in Northern States of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Minnesota, who are every bit as progressive as any set of people in Canada, decided to go it alone in dealing with poverty, in dealing with the need to

Civic Solidarity: Foundations of Social Development for the 21st Century (1995)

Commentary by: Susan McGrath

It was appropriate that Marvyn Novick was asked to give the keynote address at the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto's annual general meeting on May 18, 1995. The title was *Civic Solidarity: Foundations of Social Development for the 21st Century*. The federal government had been steadily unravelling the Canadian welfare state and a major plank in that agenda was the Canada Social Transfer (CST) set out in the budget of February 1995. It was also just weeks away from elections in Ontario when Mike Harris' conservative party would unleash their Common Sense Revolution to reduce taxes and the role of government. Guidance from a wise elder was needed; the room was full.

Marvyn did not disappoint. In his powerful language, he provided a disturbing analysis of the political context of the time: "We are being governed by a dominant agenda that promotes 19th century doctrines of natural selection in which excellence is once more defined as the triumph of the strong over the weak, solidarity is reduced to traditional tribal affinities, and community becomes an arena in which the comfortable seek protection from the excluded". He talked about the importance of public discourse and how it was being influenced by the corporate sector: the corporate contentions of "overspending, over taxation, inefficiency, and diminished value from public activity" had been seeded into the public climate. Marvyn's lament was that the "fusion of public perspectives with the corporate world is complete."

In a rather unusual step for a keynote address but consistent with Marvyn the teacher, he had handouts; he had prepared 4 tables. He documented what he called the "quantum transformation" that the Canada Social Transfer would have on funding for health, post-secondary education and, particularly, social programs over the next four years. He accurately predicted that the Ontario government would not make up the federal tax cuts and there would be substantial reductions in all of these programs. You will recall that one of the first actions of the Mike Harris government in 1995 was to cut social assistance rates in Ontario by almost 22% - the provincial attack on vulnerable populations and public services was on.

Marvyn also took on the corporate agenda assumption that Canadians were over taxed. One of the tables showed that in comparing total tax revenue as a percentage of GDP, Canada was on par with other OECD states. He also showed that the single earner Canadian paid less in taxes than the average of other OECD states and that

Canadian employers paid less than half of the taxes of the average OECD state. Marvyn was providing his audience with the evidence they needed to challenge not only the new tax system but refute the claim that Canadians were paying too much in taxes. He believed in the Canadian welfare state, the universality of social programs, and the progressive taxation required to pay for what we value.

Marvyn believed in civic solidarity to overcome what he called a "dogma of privilege". He called for "a powerful collective will" to regenerate a vision of hope. His mobilization strategy focused on the SPC as a hub for connecting and generating information, research, and policy perspectives. He rejected mainstream media calling for more local communications to mobilize "civic media networks"; he became an avid follower of online news seeking out alternative sources.

Marvyn's message guides us today as once again we face a conservative provincial government in Ontario that is tearing down the health, education and social benefits that have been achieved in recent years. His call to the now Social Planning Toronto and its allies to mobilize in civic solidarity remains relevant. We are in a struggle as Marvyn said "for the soul of our city, our province, and our country."

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CIVIC SOLIDARITY: FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE 2lST CENTURY

presented by
Guest Speaker:

Marvyn Novick
Professor of Social Work
Ryerson University

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
of
THE SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF METRO TORONTO

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I want to take this occasion before people, many of whom I know, to suggest what I hope will be the Social Planning Council role over the next period of time. But you're going to have to allow me some reflective time in order to situate what I think the role of the Council might be or a way in which it might emerge. I'm going to talk about the structural challenge, try to seed some themes, and then look at some dimensions of the public climate, the implications for Ontario, and then deal with the theme of civic solidarity.

It is an understatement to contend that this is a period of profound challenge to the quality of social life in Canada. The impacts of what we're going through will be experienced in every part of the country including Metro . It is clear that we are being governed by a dominant agenda that promotes 19th century doctrines of natural selection in which excellence is once more defined as the triumph of the strong over the weak, solidarity is reduced to traditional tribal affinities, and community becomes an arena in which the comfortable seek protection from the excluded. These are the experiences of the 19th century that we are being compelled to live through at the end of the 20th. We have entered a new wave of industrialism on a global scale. This is the structural change in which western economies no longer enjoy a privileged monopoly of basic productive capacity and knowledge, and that is a fundamental shift. The times, however, call for new a world social and economic responses in western nations to promote of shared opportunity at home and abroad, a genuine global solidarity.

Instead, the dominant agenda advises us to embark on a domestic path of collective disengagement in which we dismantle frameworks of shared commitment and responsibility for the allegedly higher virtues of market life. Proponents of the dominant agenda have conducted an unrelenting assault on public institutions; it's been facilitated through a growing capacity to command public both overt and covert during the past 2o years. They have been facilitated through a growing capacity to command public perceptions. The capacity to command public perceptions is both a function of the ability to extend ownership and concentration of media and to purchase expertise to legitimate primitive doctrines of laissez-faire economics.

The 1995 federal budget confirms the triumph of the dominant agenda at the national level. The agenda is now primed to play itself out in Ontario over the next two years. What is at stake are the life prospects of younger generations: children, youth and families; the social security of older adults; the cohesion of our communities; and the vitality of our economy.

We are living through an historically transformative moment in our common life and, if we wish to avoid the dismal path of exclusion and siege, we will have to act together. It will not be enough to reason with advocates of the dominant agenda through well documented analysis and reports, for the dogma of privilege does not comfortably entertain contradictory evidence. As industrial workers discovered in the last century, it is only through a powerful, collective will that the dogma of privilege can be contained and transcended. This collective will requires that we regenerate a vision of hope, a new ground of solidarity and the capacity for alliances and mobilization. This is a challenge which goes beyond the scope of my presentation tonight. However, I want to outline what I regard as some preliminary perspectives and directions.

The Public Mood on Government

I want first to deal with the issue of the public climate. The role of government as portrayed by the dominant agenda is one of over-spending, over-taxation; a debt wall. What is hopeful is that there appears to be a more ambiguous public mood. Surveys were conducted by the Ekos Research Group, in the latter part of 1994. These Ekos surveys assessed the attitudes and values of Canadians to governments. The surveys are quite interesting because they unpack the Canadian public into three strata and, within two of the three strata, two kinds of groups.

The first stratum is what is called an elite sector. It is made up of high level decision-makers in both the market sector and in the public sector. The second stratum is the middle, that includes the comfortable and the vulnerable. And then there's the lower stratum of people who have been dislocated. They are differentiated by those who are angry and ally themselves with the forces of privilege, and those who expect some measure of collective action.

If we remove the elite and look at the other two strata, we can have a notion of the public mood, because the elite stratum represents only 19 per cent of the population.

The Ekos survey finds that there are profound differences around public values and the roles of government between the elite and the broad public. The elites desire minimal government, limited redistribution, and competitiveness as a central goal. Public attitudes and values, as late as last November, still talk about a high value placed on regional equality, redistribution, addressing unemployment, and child poverty. These values are tempered by suspicions about the integrity of public officials, and by perceptions of high taxation levels. That's the ambiguity ... the valuing of public institutions and activities but the perception that there is an overburdening tax contribution.

The public climate seeded before the federal budget and reinforced since, ignored the ambiguity and focused exclusively on elite contentions of overspending, overtaxation, inefficiency, diminished value from public activity. It's a fundamental dilemma. One isn't surprised when the national corporate media focus on elite contentions, but one is somewhat concerned by the particularly dismal performance of the CBC. The new definition of balance at the CBC in discussing fiscal deficits was to counterpoint a spokesperson from the Fraser Institute with a vice president from the Bank of Montreal. Or in a pre-budget program on CBC Newsworld to offset the financial columnist from The Globe & Mail with the financial columnist from The Financial Post. This abandonment of public responsibility by the CBC, forgetting what it means to be a public broadcaster, failing to give voice to the ambiguities of public moods, is, I would submit, a major institutional barrier.

But it is not surprising. The Ekos survey shows that there is a virtual convergence at the elite level between attitudes and values decision of senior decision makers in the public sector with senior makers in the corporate private sector; they are essentially of one mind. This is what the survey indicates is a primary source of elite strength; it's their cohesiveness. We no longer have in the public sector a distinctive public service tradition reflected at the highest levels of

management. The fusion of public perspectives with the corporate world is complete. This represents a corporate triumph. Twenty years ago the view was that the public sector needed to benefit from the introduction of in Ontario corporate management perspectives . This was the thrust from 1970 to '75 with the Fleck commission established to introduce corporate management to the public sector. We can now no longer depend on the notion that at senior government levels we have a set of distinctive public perspectives with which we can expect to have the public good defined and pursued.

Fiscal Dimensions of Civic Solidarity

I want to talk about the circumstances that we face in Ontario and for that I'm going to ask you to refer to the handout called ''Fiscal Dimensions of Civic Solidarity.'' If you look at Table l, I want to show you the scale of retrenchment we have undergone through the 1995 federal budget. Canada's Health and Social Transfer includes previous transfers for health, post-secondary education, and the Canada Assistance Plan. The cash portion will go from $18 billion in 1993/94, representing 2.4 per cent of our GDP; to $10.3 billion or 1.2 per cent of our GDP in 1997/98. This is not a mere reform adjustment; this is a quantum transformation. To reduce the federal government's cash contribution for health, post-secondary education and social services to 50 per cent of its share of GDP within a four to five year period is the kind of structural change that is quite awesome.

If we look now at what our federal tax dollars pay for, we can see that in 1993/94, 15 cents of every federal dollar went to support essential public and social programs in our communities. That's now down to 7 cents. As the federal government gives us less back for what we contribute in maintaining essential public and social programs, we see one source of the tax resistance problem. People perceive themselves to be paying more and receiving less.

Table 2 shows some of the internal dynamics of cuts in the Canada Social Transfer. What I've tried to do is look at the relative impact of the reductions at a provincial level on the Canada Assistance Plan programs and on health and post-secondary education. Health and post-secondary education have been supported by both the cash transfer and the assignment of tax points to the provinces. You'll notice for health and post-secondary education that, while the cash transfer is going to decline, the fixed tax points will increase so that the net reduction in health and post- secondary education will be about 4.4 per cent. The Canada Assistance Plan has never had tax points to sustain its support to the provinces. The cash cut on a same share allocation basis will mean, in effect, a 39 per cent decline overall in levels of federal support for programs covered under the Canada Assistance Plan.

Now, under the Canada Health and Social Transfer, provinces can do as they wish with this diminished block fund; they're not required to allocate it to any specific area. But if a provincial treasurer were sitting and saying 'What's really happening?' the conclusion is that 'I'm losing 4.5 per cent for health and post-secondary education and 39 per cent for social assistance programs!' We all focus on national standards because they're important to us in health care. National standards have been part of the protection of the poor in Canada but not necessarily

the most significant part. The most significant protection for the poor in Canada has been the 50 cent cost-shared dollar. What federal cost-sharing meant is that a province that wanted to support programs for needy populations only had to spend 50 cents relative to each dollar spent for other areas provincially. The guarantee was that the federal government would spend the other 50 cents. It's that 50 cent dollar that protected lower income and needy populations that has now been removed. In reality, as of 1997/98, it will cost the province $1.50 or more for every dollar that is currently spent for poor people now.

The shifts are quite significant. What it sets up is a circumstance in which it is necessary for the different sectors to compete with each other. In order to sustain some decent floor for social assistance and social service programs, either revenue has to be raised or reductions have to occur in more basic areas such as health and education. It is an unhealthy situation.

I include Tables 3 and 4 for purposes of sobriety. They establish that in 1991 Canadians were not the highest taxed among the OECD members. They establish as well that from 1975 to 1985 Canadians did not contribute to public revenue in a manner consistent with revenue to wealth which was at an OECD level in 1975 already other OECD countries. You can see that the Canadian ratio of public declined to .89 in 1985. The tragedy, of course, is that as taxes have gone up from 1985 to 1991 the revenue generated does not pay for programs -- it pays for interest charges on the debt. The Canadian tragedy is that we should have been stocking our public revenue bases when other western countries did. Instead of paying holiday. If from 1975 to 1985 we were paying what we should have for the social programs we wanted from 1975 to 1985, we got a tax in public revenue, we would have paid for programs we valued. As of 1985, revenue growth has gone primarily to paying debt charges and we have seen less and less in terms of public programs.

The last table indicates that an average single earner in Canada, at about $33,000 a year, is not overburdened relative to western counterparts. The average single earner in Canada, contributes 26.3 percent of her/his income to income tax and social security. I feel more sorry for the American worker who contributes 26 per cent and gets far less back. We can also see that Canadian employers are not amongst the most heavily burdened in what they contribute.

The solidarity issues that arise are the conditions for common struggle. Contributions to public revenue are critical expressions it's quite clear that we will face substantial reductions in of collective will. Without new public revenue sources in Ontario, insured health services, non-statutory community support programs, higher fees for post-secondary education, diminished access to libraries and leisure services, a decline in the quality of public schools and inevitable reductions in social support.

Substantial reductions in public services will erode the quality of social life in most Ontario communities, and for most Ontario families, both for middle level groups as well as the poor. The challenge, of course, will be the politics of where the middle goes whether the middle focusses on alleged abuses at the bottom, or whether the middle is directed into challenging

elite perspectives. The recent provincial election campaign in Ontario clearly succeeded in building an elite alliance with middle level groups against the poor and minorities.

Civic Solidarity and the Role of Social Planning

I want to conclude by talking about the issue of civic solidarity. In trying to generate collective will, we have to ask what assets do we possess. I want to suggest there are two assets. One, there societies are bad for economic vitality. Countries with greater is evidence in recent international literature that disparities in income disparities are countries that perform more poorly in terms of their overall economy. Equity of income distribution is important to capacities for wealth formation. The evidence is there in World Bank reports, in the research of Amaptra Sen, and in the work of people at the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research here in Toronto. That's important because the dominant agenda has suggested that disparities must be tolerated as a condition of wealth creation.

There is also the discovery of the role of social capital in sustaining economic vitality. Social capital means that wealth is not created in abstract markets. Wealth is created by people with talents and assets finding patterns of trust through which they can generate enterprises and activities. The recent Putnam studies looked at why northern Italy has such a vibrant economy and has political stability in contrast to southern Italy. The conclusion is that civic networks in which people enhance a diversity of trust, are talents and abilities, and develop reciprocities of trust, are critical for the conditions of wealth creation. This literature points to the importance of civic cohesion as a condition of wealth creation. It begins to question market notions that it is private investment and individual risk alone that is at the heart of economic vitality.

One advantage of market economists is that they've never burdened themselves with going out into the field and conducting empirical studies of how things actually happen. They create hypotheses whose statistical validity they seek to affirm or negate in simulations. I think we have something going around the research literature increasingly pointing to the economic significance of civic cohesion.

The second asset we possess is the pride clearly which people in Toronto and across much of Ontario have in the high quality of social and community life relative to the United States. The Ekes study confirms that for a majority of Canadians the difference between our country and the U.S. is in the quality of public goods and public environments whether it's health care, education or basic community services. It points to the presence of positive civic values in our society, and the importance placed on civic cohesion.

I would contend that the prospects are promising for a civic mobilization strategy in the Toronto area, connecting with other parts of Ontario, as a way of beginning to contain and reverse the dominant agenda. What would be the purposes of mobilization? I think it would be to preserve essential public goods, defend the quality of social life which people can understand, ensure that teachers and teacher aids are not removed from classrooms, that needed centres that support the elderly are not closed, that significant areas of primary health

care are not closed in the name of alleged consolidated efficiencies, that library services are preserved.

I think the mobilization is protective but it's also affirmative. I think people are worried about the prospects for children and youth, and there is increasingly a recognition that educating young people for a labour market of limited destinations is not going to work. I think the raw capacity is there to mobilize people around the conditions of their communities, the concerns that they have around the future of their children, youth, and of themselves as seniors.

What is the focus of mobilization? I think it should be possible and essential to look at it at a community level, at a city level, and at a regional level in relation to the shared common environments that people have. There is a need in a serious mobilization strategy to continue to defend marginal groups, but as well to link up with people who are part of the traditional middle, people who have modest incomes and are feeling more and more vulnerable. They are worried about their economic prospects and worried about their children. It is critical to reconnect with these groups. There will also be some parts of the elite stratum who will be concerned that the destruction of public goods and social programs will remove things they value in terms of civic cohesion and vitality. It may not be a large number, but there will be some who will be concerned.

I think the civic dimension is one that has worked in this city. It worked 25 years ago around the excesses of urban development. Powerful mobilizations across different parts of this community -- with the traditional middle, the working class, and welfare rights groups demonstrated that together they could protect the physical character of this city.

The Social Planning Council benefited enormously in the mid- '70s because many of the people who came to the Social Planning Council then were the troops who had cut their teeth in the urban reform movement to preserve the physical character of the city. They then carried their commitments into work directed to enhancing the social character of the city.

The challenge today is to build an equivalent kind of movement around the social character of this city. It can be won. The extraordinary work of Janet Conway and her associates in the Metro Network for Social Justice in reversing intended social cuts at the Metro Council level and shifting editorial opinion in a major local newspaper shows that it can be done. The foundation of values is there with which to work.

What forms can the mobilization take? Here's where I think the Social Planning Council has a crucial role to play. I think any successful form of mobilization requires a hub, a base, a place through which the capacity for connection, the capacity for generating information, research and policy perspectives can come. The Social Planning Council has the legitimacy and, with partners who have demonstrated their commitment to this work in the Paying for Canada Coalition -- Citizens for Public Justice, the Seniors Alliance, Child Poverty Action Group -- can work together to build a strong hub.

Mobilization means developing alliances. It means ensuring, as was the case twenty-five years ago, that people in diverse sectors, people in the social and cultural field, can discover their common values and commitments. I don't know how many of you are from community based programs, but twenty years ago when we had to defend them and get them funded what was most exciting was the building of civic alliances between theatre groups and social programs. The recognition was there that they had a common stake. This is not theory, it's an appeal to tradition. I believe alliance development is possible, having resident groups, school- parent groups, seniors, people in the environmental field, people concerned with the arts and culture, work with people engaged in advocacy and support of low income and marginal communities. This is a time not to highlight differences but to find common ground.

The third dimension of mobilization is the critical need to generate what I call 'civic media networks', and to forget the corporate press. Twenty-five years ago people also forgot the dailies and weeklies in ethno-cultural communities. We have corporate press -- they were all pro-development. People used community newspapers, they used local papers. We have a rich array of local papers, we have smaller city papers that don't have the political cynicism of the big city press when it comes to civic issues. It's crucial that we generate new kinds of media networks.

I'm going to conclude by appealing to the Social Planning Council to assume a strong mobilization role. I'm proud of my association with the Council. I'm proud because the Social Planning Council, in the 25 years that I have been associated with it, has led the way locally and nationally in some very fundamental areas. The Social Planning Council led the way in establishing policy advocacy as a legitimate role for community agencies. You think that's been a given? You have no idea how contested that was. It was not self-evident to the United Way and to local politicians that community agencies ought to go beyond research and service to be involved in policy advocacy. The struggle and the direction was led from here.

The Social Planning Council led the way for recognition that community-based services and programs were a part of a public framework of support and not sweet little add-ons that could be introduced and closed as part of temporary work programs. That struggle was led and won locally and nationally here at the Social Planning Council.

The Social Planning Council led the way in the establishment of key race relations institutions, in contributing to the co-founding of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, and in setting up the first committees in Toronto and Ontario on law enforcement and race relations in which members of the police had to sit down with members of visible minorities and actually defend their concept of policing. It was quite an experience to watch these events. I came to realize how pink white flesh can get when senior police officials were forced to justify policies and practices to people to whom they never believed they had a responsibility to justify anything.

The Social Planning Council led the way in fundamental public policy areas linking urban planning and economic policies to social well being. It was assumed that social planning had nothing to say about the physical character of a city. This was considered controversial. It was

also controversial for the social Planning Council to talk about issues like full employment and tax policies because these were the domains of experts in economics and finance.

The Social Planning Council continues to lead the way locally and nationally. More recently, the Social Planning Council provided essential leadership, along with its coalition partners, in promoting national options on the public finances of Canada.

There is an honourable tradition here at the Social Planning Council, leading the way or contributing to the critical struggles of the time. I submit to you that this is the most difficult of all struggles because the struggle we now face in the next period is the struggle for the soul of our city, our province, and our country. There's an important tradition of resolve at the Social Planning Council. The capacity to act is clearly here, in staff and in volunteers. The challenge to continue the S.P.C. legacy has never been greater and I know we will do it.

Thank you very much.

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Fiscal Dimensions of Civic Solidarity

Social Inclusion: The Foundation of a National Policy Agenda (2001)

Commentary by: Ish Theilheimer

As the conference theme suggests, it's a useful new way of thinking. We're asking a question and trying to lay the groundwork for a vision. It's more an exploratory event than definitive

In the Canadian context inclusion is really asking us to revisit some important areas that have been implicitly under question but not explicitly discussed. Three areas come to mind: first what we mean by equality. The prevailing notion of equality is of entitlement, rights. Inclusion forces us to question whether there is something in the notion of membership that should be explored. Whether entitlement and rights may not be ends but means to a certain quality of membership.

Inclusion forces us to question whether entitlement and rights may not be ends but means to a certain quality of membership.

Revisiting equality and membership

The notion of membership has been implicit in a number of important movements of the last thirty to forty years. It goes back to people with disabilities who in the early 70s began to question the state of diminshment to which they were condemned... The community living movement is a statement of membership as a form of equality. It has been implicit in the women's movement... it's been there around First Nations people and their struggles. It's been there because of the global diversity that is now part of Canada. Francophone people have been discussing whole issue... Homelessness outrages us a violation of entitlement, ostracizes people from membership by not having a place that is there. There's the same issue around child and family poverty. It's not just not having enough money but children and families being outside living standards that prevail in the general community.

Revisiting of equality is quite important. It really makes us think through some of the things that have been inherent. The welfare state was a major societal achievement but implicit in other movements is that notion that the welfare state is gender specific, culturally specific, ability specific. The post- World War 2 welfare state saw as its members a society where families headed by Anglo able-bodied males were the focus.

A new take on citizenship

The second area for exploration is what we mean by citizenship. We've been dealing with citizenship as meaning the accountablility of government to individuals, but this is evolving to a notion that goes deeper. It says citizens are not just consumers of government services but active contributors to the world in which they live.

What do we mean by social well-being? A third area: what do we mean by social well-being? Population health literature increasingly suggests people's distances from each other, and states of tremendous polarization are bad for people's health, that health is more than what you possess, that

it's the states of relationship you have with other people. There's a sense that social well- being goes beyond that to recognition and asks how do we feel recognized. Maybe it allows us to find some common ground in what have been separate discourses and struggles. A lot of the themes have come out of different disciplines. Inclusion is another way of saying 'is there common ground in some of these areas?'

We're bringing together people who are struggling with some dimensions of this in different worlds, to see whether there is that common ground.

The next focus of the conference emerges - the vision. To have a vision, something's got to be shared. What does it mean in terms of the kind of nation we are, the kind of communities we want to develop?

A national dimension

It involves policies and practices. It has national dimensions to it. If we want to see equality as membership, and the citizen as a contributor, what are some of the dimensions? This is where the human development agenda becomes very important. Things that can be done nationally become critical, like early learning and why strong and extended public education is so important, the role of the arts, family living standards...

Membership was NOT the old question, entitlement was.

Is it new wine in old bottles? I don't think membership was the old question, entitlement was. You were there to be consumers to whom people were accountable.

The new way of thinking is understanding what kind of mission would be informed by a notion of social inclusion. Can we come up with a shared vision of it, some common ground? Before September 11 there was a tremendous concern we were becoming a country that was increasingly polarized. A lot of these movements, issues, were stuck. We'd made some advances but we were drifting apart. After September 11, Canadians are once more seeing themselves as a nation when it comes to physical security. The real question is what kind of a nation do we want to create? There is a sense that that the times have shifted, that people expect governments to be active, to reflect the collective wishes of Canadians.

The conference will be a time to lay out the kinds of responsibilities and initiatives

we want the federal government and other Canadians to pursue around things like our democratic integrity, what kind of country are we defending. Inclusion asks us to really look at the area of nation- building.

The people who are coming are people who hold important positions of public responsibility and who have been important speakers and activists in a variety of settings. It will be a good opportunity for them to see what's significant about social inclusion, so if it leads to some kind of common understanding and imperatives, it could be good.

Will it translate into anything? I don't know. It's an attempt to seed the foundations of some new directions and initiatives. Particularly in Canada, where inclusion is such a part of the Canadian experience, more so than in the European context...

The chief points of debate are whether people understand inclusion in sufficiently common ways, whether people think their notion of inclusion coheres with that of others, whether people have very different meanings, or whether people assign old meanings, such as integration, which assumes there's a fixed notion of what a mainstream is. This is much more complex.

Recreating society - not just letting outsiders in

An inclusive society needs to recreate itself. It's not just letting us into your world. It's what kind of common world we build that recognizes diversity, recognizes we share important things in common. Debates may occur over the old meaning of inclusion - organic solidarity - or they may take inclusion to mean an order - you're participating. That's what workfare is all about. Ask yourself what kind of membership and recognition there is there. There might be people who say as long as people are able to function they're included. That's the old welfare notion.

There could be divisions where people want to deal with the violations they've experienced: misogyny, homophobia, racism... If it stays there, we miss the point that at some point outrages have to become transformative agendas for social change.

Inclusion asks us to look at how we connect with others, how we share with others. It requires us not to dispense with differences but asks us how can differences be accommodated within commonalities.

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A NEW WAY OF THINKING? TOWARDS A VISION OF SOCIAL INCLUSION

Social Inclusion: The Foundation of a National Policy Agenda

Marvyn Novick, Professor of Social Work, Ryerson University

Introduction

I want to begin by expressing my gratitude to the Laidlaw Foundation for the opportunity to once more participate in a substantive process. Through the dedication of its resources to address the critical issue of social inclusion, and through the initiation of this conference in collaboration with the Canadian Council on Social Development, the foundation confirms that it remains on the cutting edge of public interest work in Canada.

The theme of this session is to explore social inclusion as the foundation of a national policy agenda. I propose to examine the theme in three ways:
a) highlight the structural dilemmas of inclusion;
b) contend that democratic development become the foundation for a policy agenda to advance social inclusion in Canada;
c) and time permitting, I would like to outline a structural agenda for universal inclusion.

The Structural Dilemmas of Inclusion

Social inclusion is a compelling, complex, and contested concept. What appears to have self-evident meaning to its advocates, can conceal layers of differing assumptions and agendas. Inclusion holds out the promise of a more just set of relationships within society. But until we know what kind of inclusion is intended, and for whom, then the promise remains unclear.

To discuss social inclusion as the foundation of a national policy agenda requires us to explore both the structural and contextual dimensions of the concept. The current interest in social inclusion draws from European initiatives over the last three decades, beginning in France and then extending itself across the European community. The initial and continuing focus in Europe is on marginalization, identifying populations and sub-groups living in states of chronic hardship outside of conventional economic and social settings.

The marginalized are the living negations of the universal promises of prosperity and well-being upon which

the legitimacy of European structural arrangements have rested since World War Two. The structural foundations of universalism were based on commitments to full employment, rising incomes, and comprehensive systems of social care through a generous welfare state. There are two forms of exclusion inherent in marginalization: a) social exclusion of the marginalized as the diminished outsiders; and b) political exclusion of structural legitimacy to the dominant insiders.

Herein lies the structural dilemma of social inclusion. Does the presence of the marginalized reveal deficiencies in prevailing structural arrangements and the need for an agenda of national reconstruction, or does the presence of the marginalized reveal deficiencies in processes of national integration into what are basically sound structural arrangements. Even the first question about structural deficiencies can lead in two directions: a) a contention that prevailing structural arrangements induce attitudes and behaviors [passivity, dependence] which directly contribute to the marginalized marginalizing themselves; or b) that the prevailing structural arrangements are incapable of providing universal conditions of inclusion for diverse life circumstances.

These are not new dilemmas. Social exclusion was the earlier focus of the American War on Poverty in the sixties. Drawing from the research on delinquency, contentions emerged which suggested that poverty was fundamentally a function of denied opportunity to participate in the economic abundance of America. Poverty was located in what Michael Harrington called "The Other America", the racially and rurally excluded populations of the country. The War on Poverty became a strategy of national integration through targeted programs to enhance the participation of the marginalized- capacity development through community action and model cities initiatives, work incentive programs for people on social assistance, head start for early development, youth corps for skill development and job preparation, the mobilization of voluntary action through a domestic peace corps, legal challenges to promote the rights of the excluded, and heavily funded research on the dynamics of poverty and on the outcomes of demonstration programs.

Nowhere did the War on Poverty address structural deficiencies in American society. There were no universal initiatives on health care, family income security, public education, early childhood learning and care, recreation, public transit, mixed social housing. When the War on Poverty became mired in political conflict, and was terminated in 1968, the focus on the marginalized turned to "law and order" [not the TV program, but the political strategy]. The marginalized were once more defined as deviant, not to be integrated but to be contained through policing and incarceration. There are few enduring legacies of the War on Poverty other than continuing targeted initiatives and extensive research. American social outcomes in key areas of well-being remain the worst in the industrialized world. The marginalized persist in their exclusion - racially concentrated, economically depleted, and socially dislocated.

The Canadian context for addressing social inclusion has historically been less stark than that in the United States. The Canadian welfare state which emerged in the late sixties through the mid-seventies had more structural content. A strong social security system for seniors was developed, medicare was introduced, major investments were made in urban infrastructure and social housing, public education and the arts were strongly supported, opportunities for post secondary education and training were extended, unemployment insurance coverage was the broadest in the industrialized world, the creation of a social economy through community employment and core funding of community-based agencies was a Canadian innovation, and bilingualism and multiculturalism became defining features of Canadian life. It was also a time when the federal government assumed direct political responsibility to support people in poverty through the Canada Assistance Plan.

Canadian strategies of social inclusion benefited the dominant cultural majorities of the country- able bodied male provided families of European origin. The strategies of inclusion did not fully address the life circumstances of women, young children, First Nations, immigrants and refugees of racial diversity, people with disabilities, and former patients with mental health difficulties discharged into communities. During the

nineties, the stratification of the labour market accompanied by significant reductions in public provision have led to growing states of social polarization and civic decline in Canadian life. Vulnerability, insecurity, and marginalization have spread to draw in increasing numbers of the historically included.

Social inclusion has become a subject of national significance because there is growing apprehension that Canadian life is becoming permanently recast into moulds of privilege and disadvantage. Homelessness, child poverty, aboriginal despair, a decaying urban infrastructure, congested classrooms, crowded emergency rooms, student debts, patterns of racial apartheid in large cities are all leading indicators of a social fabric that is fraying rapidly. A national conference on social inclusion is a time to reflect on perspectives and strategies to preserve the vision of a common Canada.

Social Inclusion as Democratic Development

The conference poses the question of whether the concept of social inclusion presents us with a new way of thinking. If the primary focus of inclusion is on bringing marginalized populations into the prevailing mainstream, then the answer is no.

Strategies of normative integration of the marginals go back more than 150 years to the origins of the scientific charity movement when friendly visitors were expected to become moral bridges, guiding the marginals into mainstream life. The structural dilemmas of those times was that mainstream life was incapable of furnishing conditions of security and well-being for a majority of people. Integration meant having the marginals accept the legitimacy of prevailing structural arrangements and develop appropriate moral behaviors to compete for limited opportunities. Inclusion as normative integration of the marginals rests on strategies of modifying behaviors and building bridges for those on the outside to become participants on the inside. The subjects and beneficiaries of inclusion are "them", the residuals, whose absence from mainstream locations and practices is the target of public initiatives. Inclusion as normative integration is what defined the American War on Poverty, and now defines current targeted initiatives in Europe and Canada. The focus of residual strategies is on risk, intervention, and enforced insertion if necessary as evident in workfare programs.

There is another understanding of social inclusion in which the focus is on the structural capacity of a society to provide conditions of security and well-being for all of its people. This approach also has an historical tradition, as reflected in the social justice struggles which led to the formation of the welfare state as a project of universal inclusion. Programs such as medicare, public education, social housing, a social security system for seniors are secular expressions of equal worth. They translate rights as principles into conditions of life.

Universalism has generally been presented as a fiscal concept of redistribution in which some people pay more so that everyone may receive an essential benefit. But there is a moral meaning to universalism, in which every person is deemed worthy of a dignified presence by virtue of their membership in a national community committed to principles of democratic development. Inclusion through universalism is a strategy of mutual accommodation in which the mainstream transforms itself to create conditions which reduce social distances in the relative status and public worth of people. There are two critical co-requisites to mutual accommodation- a) the recognition and respect of differences; and b) the discovery and affirmation of commonalities. These are the foundations of collective solidarities. Inclusion through mutual accommodation is what contributes to states of social cohesion.

Societies of normative integration can tolerate significant social disparities so long as participants adhere to prescribed standards of behavior in their respective social worlds. The democratic commitment in normative integration can be limited to processes of accountability and equity - collective sovereignty and fair treatment. The development of valued capabilities and the availability of valued locations are left to the social opportunities provided by the prevailing structural order. If the prevailing order is limited in its opportunities,

then life chances are also limited and competitive. This perspective gets expressed in the metaphor that "life is a race that everyone faces" and that public initiatives can serve to "improve the odds." [In a mutual accommodation perspective, the metaphor would be reframed to state that "life is a journey that everyone experiences" and that public initiatives can serve to "endow the paths."]

The vision of social inclusion which one pursues [whether residual or universal] basically reflects differences in understandings and commitments to democratic development. These differences are evident in four critical areas:
a) whether social rights are claims to be defended and observed, or whether social rights are responsibilities to be recognized and affirmed;
b) whether freedom is the liberty to acquire or the capability to pursue a meaningful life;
c) whether life chances should be conferred through a fair process of competition, or through just conditions of endowment;
d) whether states of social well-being are better advanced through more wealth, or through better states of social cohesion.

Permit me to offer some brief comments in each of the four areas.

a) Universal systems of social provision reflect the recognition and affirmation of responsibility. A fully funded medicare system does not require citizens to claim rights for primary care [as with the proposed bill of patient rights in the United States], nor demonstrate financial need as a condition of eligibility [as with the U.S. medicaid program]. In fully funded medicare, the assumption of responsibility precedes the claim for care. Everyone is included by virtue of their membership in Canadian society.

b) The seminal work of the Nobel Laureate philosopher-economist Amartya Sen on inequality deals with the nature of human freedom. He questions whether the ability to secure and derive pleasure from goods is the highest expression of human freedom. Sen contends that well-being comes from a broad set of capabilities to realize states of agency and levels of functioning consistent with what carries meaning for people. The foundation of freedom therefore rests in capabilities to pursue, and inequalities are most evident in diminished states of human development. Sen's work has been most influential in the development of a human poverty index by the United Nations in which poverty is defined along four dimensions- health states, levels of education, stability of employment, as well as relative income. Democratic development that values human freedom must assure people of the conditions to develop their capabilities.

c) The great Canadian political philosopher C B Macpherson directed much of his thinking to the theory and practice of democracy. In one of his later works, he contended that democracy is more than a mechanism for selecting and authorizing governments to regulate private interests and the private pursuit of advantages. The egalitarian principle in democracy went beyond 'one person, one vote' but must also ensure each person the right to live as fully humanly as they may wish. Macpherson concluded that any modern theory of democracy must "treat democracy as a kind of society and must treat the individual members as at least potential doers rather than mere consumers, must assert an equal effective right of the members to use and develop their human capacities; each must be enabled to do so, whether or not each actually does so." Macpherson goes somewhat further than Sen in his assertion that the universal endowment of life chances is at the core of democratic development. Moreover, for people to be doers and active contributors there must be conditions of social cohesion. As Macpherson observes "The case for a democratic society fails without the assumption of potential substantial harmony. For what would be the use of trying to provide that everyone should be able to make the most of himself, which is the idea of a democratic society, if that were bound to lead to more destructive contention."

d) There is now compelling evidence that conditions of universal inclusion and social cohesion lead to higher states of collective and personal well-being. Population health studies have revealed that societies with lower

levels of disparity have longer life expectancies, less homicide and crime, stronger patterns of civic engagement, and even more robust economic vitality. Richard Wilkinson, a leading British population health researcher, is quite definitive in his conclusions. He states that "What matters to health is not absolute income and living standards, but relative income and social status." Universal inclusion through mutual accommodation is a common good which benefits 'us'. But mutual accommodation rests on states of collective intelligence which recognize the social foundations of well-being. As Wilkinson so aptly states: "Do people see other members of the public as fellow citizens with whom their welfare is interdependent, or do they see each other merely as obstacles in each other's way?"

The structural implications of population health findings raise profound issues around priorities for national development. A primary focus on economic growth and more wealth does not lead to higher states of common well-being if the social results are more polarization and greater disparities in relative circumstances and prospects. Democratic development through commitments to universal inclusion is a fundamental public good with its own imperatives, in which the social uses of wealth become the primary focus of governance.

A Structural Agenda for Universal Inclusion

An agenda for universal inclusion founded on mutual accommodation is a societal project, pursued at both the national level and in local communities. It is at the heart of the historical project called Canada. It will require unusual intelligence and determination to create common conditions of dignity for peoples of diverse global origins and social circumstances dispersed in a country that spans a continent.

I am well aware that throughout his conference there will be a host of proposals on how to advance social inclusion in Canada. There are three fundamental priorities that I wish to outline for a structural agenda.

a) Human Development Policies
If the development of each person's capabilities are at the core of human freedom and democratic development, then strong public systems of universal endowment are essential. We are now more aware of the life cycle dynamics of learning. We must find the wealth to finally create a public system of early learning and care in every community across Canada which assures every child at birth of an equal chance to enhance their cognitive and social capabilities. The time has come to recognize that recreation and the arts are significant domains for learning and expression and should be provided as essential human development services in every community across Canada. Above all, we need to project the kind of public education system we want to build for the twenty-first century. Will the commitment to public education provide the wealth required to create learning environments that go beyond testing for standardized competencies to discover and nurture the special talents and skills that reside in each child. Will the concept of public education be extended to reflect the importance of learning opportunities from junior kindergarten through to undergraduate studies and training.

b) Civic Vitality
It is in our large cities and municipalities across Canada that states of social inclusion and cohesion are first experienced. The civic capacity of Canadian cities to sustain urban communities of social diversity living in relative states of dignity and harmony is a fundamental challenge to the democratic development of Canada. Homelessness is a leading indicator of both human despair and of democratic decline. The regeneration of civic vitality requires national policies of investments in infrastructures and institutions, and local practices that foster inclusive environments in neighbourhoods and public settings. National investments are urgently required in core infrastructure areas such as social housing and public transit. Cities and municipalities must be assured of the fiscal capacities to sustain essential institutions and services such as schools, libraries, recreation centres, and public works. Core public funding for a strong network of community-based agencies, both neighbourhood and culturally specific, creates primary places for mutual engagement and accommodation in civic life. Beyond the investments that are required, we need public interest support for

projects which expand our knowledge of best civic practices in different public settings that foster social inclusion.

c) Living Standards

Social security systems remain important contributors to the reduction of economic and social disparities. As population health research has demonstrated, relative income is a key determinant of relative status and well-being. Income is a critical source of capability, in that the freedom to pursue requires resources that contribute to the realization of pursuits. More research on the impacts of economic stress on the exercise of capabilities would provide much needed insight on the psycho-social impacts of deprivation and disparities. The Canadian social security system remains basically sound for seniors. However, there is an urgent need to repair the social security system for the unemployed, and to finally build strong social security systems for families with children and for people with disabilities. Countries in Europe with the lowest rates of child poverty have strong systems of social security for families with providers both in and out of the labour market.

This conference gave participants permission to articulate a vision of social inclusion. The vision which I have outlined is unthinkable and unachievable under prevailing conditions of national governance in Canada. We are currently living through the fiscal legacies of the nineties in which the federal government disinvested in national social programs and then divested itself of a public revenue base for new national investments. This was pursued to stimulate market driven economic growth. The collapse of the internet bubble and the destruction of September 11th demonstrated how fragile market driven strategies can be. We are in a deep recession, with less to fall back upon in hard times, and limited abilities to regenerate national development.

A structural agenda for universal inclusion will require a return to the recognition that high quality public goods are critical contributors to collective and personal states of well-being and vitality. It will require a new fiscal climate based on a structural intelligence that countries have corridors of options in the use of national wealth for public purposes. To paraphrase a political saying of recent years - "it's about margins, stupid." There is no hard empirical evidence on the negative impacts of marginal increases in public revenue on national economic performance. There is significant variation in public revenue levels among states south of the border, and among countries in the European community.

The structural significance of a vision is that it can help generate a focus for mobilization and transformation. Of the three priority areas that I outlined, the most promise area for advancing a structural agenda of universal inclusion is in the area of civic vitality. This is where the evidence of disparity and decline is directly experienced. This is where strong community, public interest, and political voices have emerged to become the social conscience of Canada. Many of those voices are here today, and I hope we can leave tomorrow more enlightened, committed, and determined for what will be a long journey.

Marvyn Novick is a Professor of Social Work at Ryerson University. Since 1970, he has been an active contributor to the social policy field in Canada and to social development initiatives in Toronto. The focus of his work is on the social well-being of children, families, and communities.

Professor Novick is a co-founder of Campaign 2000 and the author of major policy reports on child poverty in Canada. His current publications address the social determinants of life chances, a life cycle approach to strategies for children, community systems of social support, and the structural dimensions of social inclusion.

Professor Novick has consulted to national organizations and local government in Toronto. He coordinated the policy unit of the Laidlaw Foundationís Children at Risk Program, chaired a national demonstration project on work and family life for the Canadian Mental Health Association, contributed to public consultations on a social development strategy for the City of Toronto, and now serves on the expert advisory group to the Toronto Commission on Early Learning and Care.

“Building a New Canada”, in Meeting the Civic Challenges of Social Inclusion (2005)

Commentary by: Joey Edwardh

I watched as Marvyn walked into the room and smiled, acknowledging the mayor, the previous mayor, city councillors, leaders in the faith, educational, business community and, sitting with them, powerful natural leaders from local neighbourhoods. He smiled, warm and respectful, and began to talk of social inclusion as a building block of a civic and just society. One hour later, all were still sitting motionless, entranced, and in deep reflection, pushing to understand social inclusion and how to lay the ground work to build an inclusive Burlington. This scene of the first meeting of the Burlington civic panel is etched in my memory. Burlington was one of five cities taking part in the Inclusive Cities Canada initiative.

Marvyn’s insatiable curiosity, study and reflection led him to envision cities as important places where we could forge a response to the civic challenge of social inclusion, a response that would shape the future of Canada. Marvyn was very aware of the fact that over 80% of Canadians live in cities and this trend is growing. Marvyn was committed to cities as incubators reducing the social and economic distance between people; where diversity and the lived experience of people are recognized and where all members of the community can participate as equally valued and respected citizens.

Funded in 2003 by Social Development Canada, the Inclusive Cities Initiative took form involving five social planning councils along with their municipal counterparts: Burlington, Edmonton, Saint John, Toronto, and Vancouver/North Vancouver. Its purpose was to assess the state of social inclusion in those cities and identify needed policy and program changes. Civic panels were established in all cities to guide the local research. Each was co-chaired by a senior municipal official and a senior community leader. Panel members were from diverse civic sectors and cultural backgrounds. They brought informed and committed perspectives to their recommendations. The panels demonstrated that civic leaders from different regions of Canada shared many common concerns and proposed a wide range of complementary priorities. Decades later, Marvyn’s belief in the civic panel as an example of local democratic practice, where ideas and experiences converge, generating shared knowledge and strategies for change, remains an important insight into the process of democratization and decision-making in communities. This is so critical in the struggle of communities to come together and collaborate to contain and recover from the COVID-19 virus.

An analyzes and synthesizes of findings and recommendations of the respective civic panels has been captured in the report, Meeting the Civic Challenges of Social Inclusion: Cross-Canada Findings and Priorities for Action. This report was released as a draft for presentation and comment at the national symposium on Building a New Canada: Meeting the Civic Challenges of Social Inclusion, November 27 and 28, 2005, in Gatineau, Quebec. The report and the recommendations from the symposium died the next day when the Government of Paul Martin fell in a no confidence vote and the then to be elected Government of Stephen Harper rejected any vision of inclusive cities as essential to the economic and social development of a civic and just Canada. Many years later, the voices from the civic panels from across Canada remain prescient, relevant and are a cry for dialogue and action essential for a future based on civic participation, belonging and human well-being.

The issues flowing from the civic panels are synthesized into four challenges for governments and communities: 1) make civic democracy work; 2) affirm urban diversity; 3) reduce disparities in living conditions; and 4) invest in social infrastructure. Today, these challenges continue to form a serious and thoughtful social agenda for cities with priorities for action at all levels of government. Marvyn would contend that embedded with each challenge is a national mission whose pursuit and realization can help redeem the promise of Canada.

The first 'thought-legacy' of the civic panels is to make local democracy work in our times by promoting civic citizenship. They believed that local governments lay the critical foundations for promoting democratic experiences among all segments of the population. The concept of civic citizenship means recognizing all adult residents of the municipal community as active participants in local governance, with contributions to make and responsibilities to assume as full members. Local democracy is where preparation for the responsibilities of national and global citizenship can be cultivated. In a country of growing diversity, local democracy can nurture formative experiences of cohesion and solidarity. Civic initiatives can help create social and economic conditions for all community members to thrive. Marvyn's reflection on local democracy working as a creative practice empowering people to come together to meet the disparities created not only by forces of globalization but now by the ravages of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Second is the 'thought- legacy' of affirming urban diversity to secure human dignity. Civic panels believed that large cities are the critical places where Canada will either succeed or fail in living with diversities. They argued that Canadian cities share a common range of diversities based on language, gender, religion, indigenous, newcomer, ethno-racial, and orientation differences. The common presence of these differences means that all cities have to become places which can welcome and value many forms of diversity whatever the intensity or scale of that presence. Inclusion under conditions of diversity can mean that we have to go through a process of civic renewal in which we learn to recognize and respect differences at the same time as we struggle to discover and sustain commonalities. The outcome of this renewal can be cities of mutual affirmation where civic institutions are pluralized into places that reflect everyone and belong to everyone. The struggle against colonialism and racism marking this decade illustrate the challenge that Marvyn left us and that is to affirm urban diversity and secure human rights and human dignity.

Third is the 'thought- legacy' of reducing disparities in living condition to create a common prosperity for all. The civic panels were acutely aware of the impacts of disparities in their cities and proposed a wide range of public measures to create more inclusive living conditions. They recognized that economic and fiscal strategies during the last decade have failed to benefit all residents in Canadian cities. Chronic levels of adult and child poverty, precarious employment, low wage jobs, food insecurity, unaffordable and inadequate housing are serious threats to the social cohesion of cities. When neighbourhood concentrations of disadvantage grow, residential patterns of stigma and separation emerge. Inclusive pathways to prosperity can be sustained through public investment in policy and programs which advance both social equity and economic efficiency. Over the last fifty years, Marvyn marked our social policy journey to eradicate poverty. His influence on strategies for social transformation are just as pertinent today.

Fourth is the 'thought-legacy' of investing in social infrastructures to build strong communities. Cities require social and physical infrastructure to function. Cities are complex environments of settlement and activity for which basic sustaining assets are required. Traditional understandings of infrastructure focus on assets such as water, roads, transit, ports, utilities, fire, police, hospitals, parks, schools, libraries, and shelter. Less understood are the requirements for a full range of civic assets which can sustain the social well-being of diverse communities and people. A focus on social infrastructure compels us to look at the civic resources required to care for and to connect people of diverse backgrounds who share common local environments. This connectedness can generate social capital, a necessary condition for social cohesion. This occurs when there are opportunities for affiliation across horizontal networks of reciprocity and trust. The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has laid bare the enormous cracks in our physical and social infrastructure. Also, it has revealed the scale of inequality across this land. I have no doubt that Marvyn would argue vehemently for a framework that reorganizes our economy, social relations, and democratic political institutions to create a society of equity, justice, and shared opportunity for all.

Marvyn's gift to us is an understanding of the elements necessary to build inclusive cities based on democratic institutions functioning in local communities marked by collaboration, citizen participation, respect for diversity and human rights, and supported by investment to create social and economic justice. This understanding grew from the deep dialogues and exchanges where cross-Canada civic panel members shared their insights and wisdom. Today, this collective vision belongs to all of us and our challenge is to come together and make it real so that opportunity and well-being belong to all Canadians.

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Joey Edwardh, PhD, is the former executive director of Community Development Halton. Today she is a community activist.

An excerpt from Meeting the Civic Challenges of Social Inclusion follows. The full document is available here: https://archive.org/details/meeting-the-civic-challenges-of-social-inclusion-2005

Excerpt from *Meeting the Civic Challenges of Social Inclusion: Cross-Canada Findings and Priorities for Action*, a report for the national symposium on *Building a New Canada: Meeting the Civic Challenges of Social Inclusion,* Gatineau, November 27- 28, 2005, by Peter Clutterbuck, Christa Freiler and Marvyn Novick, pp. 20-25.

Dimension: Community Services (Health, Crisis Supports,

and Mobility/Transportation)

Cities	Major Themes
Saint John	• **Caring Community But Fragile and Fragmented Support Base.** The community sector in Saint John is performing admirably in responding to the health and social support needs of disadvantaged parts of the population. The service base is, however, extremely fragile, stretched to the limits by service demands while heavily under-resourced. There is a strong sense that existing health and social support services are engaged in a holding action struggling to react to and stabilize crisis situations rather than proactively and strategically advancing a vision of an inclusive community for all. As well, there is poor coordination and integration across service sectors even with respect to information sharing and communications.

Burlington	• **Creating Adaptive, Responsive Supports for All Parts of the Community.** Burlington has a good local hospital but wait-times and unavailability of primary care physicians are major issues. More adaptive, responsive parts of the system need to be developed (e.g. mobile crisis response, community health centres, home care). There is concern about the emergence of a two-tier healthcare system. Emergency housing for youth, mentally ill, seniors, and people with developmental disabilities is wanting. Poverty and the lack of affordable and supportive housing put additional pressure on health and crisis services. Public transit is inadequate, both in routes and hours of service especially in the outer urban areas, and is not affordable to all groups. Access to services is compromised by inadequate public transit. Families with private transportation can access some specialized health services provided regionally out of nearby Hamilton.
Toronto	• **Building on a Highly Developed Health and Social Service Infrastructure.** Toronto has good hospitals and a strong network of community health centres that respond to the diverse needs of the population. There is concern, however, about preferential hospital treatment based on class, colour, gender, and immigrant status. Homecare and mental health services need further development. Crisis services are many, but not coordinated and must still build capacity to deliver multi-lingual, culturally sensitive supports. Many groups do not consider the emergency shelter system to be safe. Public transit has deteriorated in quality over the years and has become unaffordable for many. There have been some improvements made in public transit for seniors and people with disabilities.

Edmonton	• **Introducing Cultural Sensitivity into Existing Service Systems.** The acute care hospital system is good in Edmonton, although there is growing concern about the quality of care and whether all groups get equitable treatment in the healthcare system. Privatization of healthcare is a raging debate in Alberta. The increasing diversity of Edmonton is pointing to the need for more culturally sensitive healthcare models. Although community groups collaborate to provide some good models of crisis response, the overall crisis response system is not adequately resourced and coordinated. Culturally sensitive crisis response services are beginning but are not yet recognized as an essential part of the community service support system. Public transit is not a City or provincial priority, although the City does provide special transportation supports to people with disabilities.
Vancouver/ North Vancouver	• **Improving Coordination and Responsiveness to Newcomers' Needs in Service Systems.** Three major challenges facing health care in both cities are: (a) more effective coordination of health services; (b) more capacity to respond to the health care needs of an increasingly diverse population; and (c) a more preventative rather than crisis response approach to health care. Both cities need more adequate crisis supports, more culturally sensitive crisis services. The issue of developing a more effective and coordinated crisis support system is highlighted for Vancouver. Affordability is a concern with respect to transit in both cities, but is particularly important in the larger City of Vancouver.

Dimension: Living Conditions (Income/Employment, Housing, and Community Safety)

Cities	Major Themes
Saint John	• **Overcoming the "Quiet Discrimination" of Marginalized Community Members.** Although there are many good community initiatives to support low-income people, especially single parent families, that include the support of the business community, an underlying stereotype persists about unemployed and under-employed people in Saint John. This extends to the labeling of certain "poor neighbourhoods" where low-income people are concentrated. High poverty levels, low social assistance rates, rising rents, old, poor quality housing stock, all combine to create a crisis in affordable and decent housing in Saint John, especially for seniors, youth and single mothers. There is a growing recognition of the emerging housing crisis as private sector landlords start to educate themselves about the situation and explore ways to work with renters and governments to improve it.
Burlington	• **Dealing with the Reality of "Two Burlingtons".** Burlington is an affluent community in which there is a charitable orientation to those viewed as the "deserving poor" (some seniors, people with disabilities) but less awareness of, and willingness to provide services for others, such as single parents and young people on Ontario Works. There is concern that this "other Burlington" is growing terms of homelessness and food bank usage. Inadequate affordable, accessible and supportive housing is causing some people on lower incomes, with disabilities or special needs to move out of the City. There are concerns about a trend developing toward the racialization of poverty.

Toronto	• **Sharing the Prosperity with Vulnerable Groups.** Not all have shared in Toronto's economic prosperity over the years, resulting in high unemployment and poverty among certain groups, including well-educated and highly skilled immigrants, poorly educated youth without family supports, people with disabilities, the urban Aboriginal community, young low-income families with children, and elderly single women. Lack of recognition of the credentials and experience of newcomers is a major employment issue in Toronto. Although Toronto is still a City of mixed neighbourhoods for the most part, inadequate and unaffordable housing is a major barrier to inclusion for many, leaving large numbers on the street and in public shelters. Crime rates show Toronto is a very safe community, but public perceptions on community safety vary, and some neighbourhoods feel unfairly stigmatized by the media as high crime areas.
Edmonton	• **Distinguishing the "Deserving" from the "Undeserving" Urban Poor.** Very negative public and political attitudes towards people living in poverty are a major barrier to inclusion for welfare recipients, chronically unemployed people, newcomers, and Aboriginals. Mother-led single parent families are accorded slightly more consideration, but still not full respect and dignity. These attitudes translate into inadequate policies and programs for the provision of decent income supports and employment opportunities. Affordable housing is a growing problem as housing supply is pretty much being left to the private sector, which is only meeting the demand of the high end housing market. There is some public and political support for supportive housing options for seniors and people with disabilities. There is not a shared sense of community belonging among all groups. Certain groups report differential treatment by police and other civic authorities based on where they live (inner city), their age, their income level, their non-white or non-Euro-Canadian identification.

Vancouver/ North Vancouver	• **Engaging More Diverse Groups.** There is a strong recognition of the wasted human potential and loss of economic productivity resulting from barriers to the labour market facing certain parts of the Vancouver and North Vancouver population, such as Aboriginals, immigrants, people of colour and youth. A combination of better economic and labour market planning, cross-cultural education and training, and removal of the discriminatory and regulatory barriers to gainful employment for skilled newcomers would significantly improve inclusion in income and employment. The availability of affordable housing is a major issue in both communities especially for seniors on fixed incomes, youth, people with disabilities and urban Aboriginals, but including parts of the middle class also struggling with the high housing costs. In both Cities, there are clearly identified neighbourhoods stigmatized as not good or desirable places to live and as high crime communities. Certain identified groups in both Cities have higher safety concerns than the general population, which affects their quality of life.

Epilogue

Brigitte Kitchen

The anthology of Marvyn's writings covers the span of neoliberal domination over forty years (1980-2020), a time when market forces were once again allowed full rein, and citizens lost more and more social protection. Capital and production, free to move all over the world in search of cheap production costs, callously subjected the living standards of working people to the imperatives of growth and profits.

Marvyn often worked in cooperation with like-minded colleagues. His writings on the most pressing problems of the time reflect, in their thorough documentation and careful analysis, the outstanding quality of his research. Moreover, he never failed to advance original and pragmatic solutions to both Progressive Conservative and Liberal federal governments.

With the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG), of which he was a founding member, he was behind the 1989 unanimous declaration in the House of Commons to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000. Marvyn and CPAG were influential in setting the level of the Canada Child Benefit (2015) based on the actual annual costs of raising a child.
The expanded Canada Child Benefit (CCB) led to a reduction in child poverty while neoliberal policies further entrenched it. Deep poverty, and unacceptable levels of inequality in income and wealth, were turning Canada into a two-tiered society. To Marvyn's great disappointment and embarrassment, children in Canada continued to grow up and people to live in poverty despite the great wealth of the country.

That words strongly shape the way people see and understand their life circumstances was one of Marvyn's unshakeable beliefs. The neoliberal narrative that the accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of the few, the corporate elite, would benefit the entire population, he considered blatantly false. He took umbrage with the political and economic discourse that had become the standard explanation of the infamous "trickle-down theory." That it widely resonated with the general public when it should have set off alarm bells troubled him deeply.

The failure of neoliberalism to achieve a socially desirable and just distribution of jobs

and incomes for all members of the Canadian community inspired Marvyn to search for a convincing antidote. The idea of Commons caught his attention. Placing the interests of all people over those of the few seemed a promising strategy to refute the dominant logic of neoliberalism.

In his encyclical letter Laudato Si, Pope Francis invited all people to enter into dialogue with him. He referred to the earth as the common home of all people and called for her rich resources, gifts to humanity, to be returned for the enjoyment of all. The papal message inspired Marvyn. He asked me to join his exploration of the idea of the 'Commons' because of my unwavering commitment to universal human rights. I was happy, honoured, and grateful to do so.

Mindful that the concept of "The Commons" had its roots in the ecological movement and our background was in social policy, we preferred "Social Commons" as a term that would better reflect the policy model of human needs and environmental protection we had in mind.

Until his unexpected death in 2016, Marvyn and I diligently searched how to effectively translate the idea of the 'Social Commons' into a practice of justice for all. We quickly realized that rhetoric could not replace action. Demanding the re-organization of the existing economic system would not create the necessary conditions of wellbeing which allowed all people now, and in the future, to thrive.1 What we needed was to come up with a doable strategy to make it possible.

Our first aim was to introduce the concept of 'Social Commons' to Canadians who were not yet familiar with it as a transformative paradigm. As such, it could inform social policy decisions and shape political practices, backed up by commitments of reciprocal responsibilities and obligations between local, national, and global communities. The inter-connectedness and inter-dependence of the world's economies under the impact of neoliberal globalization have turned local problems also global problems and vice versa. Translating the saying "it takes a village to raise a child" to "it takes the world to raise a child" would accurately reflect their inter-relatedness.

Promoting the 'Social Commons' compelled us to focus on the aspects of social life shared by all humans. Following Karl Polanyi,2 we sought to break the almighty capitalist growth and profit motive in the interest of the wellbeing of all people in both their social and physical environment. The 'Social Commons' had to be an ethical imperative for an economy of wellbeing (living wages, stable and safe working conditions) and a protective state (social security provisions for life and work-related contingencies).

The writings of Francine Mestrum encouraged us to further pursue this direction. She too recognized the importance of reversing the robbing and dispossessing of millions of people of their jointly created wealth. For her it was an essential step towards the repudiation of the antisocial prevalence of self-centered individualism (me first) that could potentially have enough persuasive force to draw the existing political and economic

1 Brian Davey (2012:107) "The Abundance of the Commons" in The Wealth of the Commons, a world beyond **market and state, edited by David Bollier and Silke Helfrich.**

2 Karl Polanyi (1957), Trade and Market in the Early Empires, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois

structures into a progressive direction3.

To achieve such a turn in direction required fundamental change away from the still dominant neoliberal economic way of thinking. A reconfiguration of socio-economic relations within the policy framework of the 'Social Commons,' we realized, could not happen without an infusion of ethical principles into economics to form a global economic morality of the 'we' (humanity) over the 'I' (the individual). In the interests of social harmony and peace, we felt this would have to be done in a way that would avoid class resentment, conflict, and social and political polarization.

As neither the state nor the market could be expected to be up to this task, we identified civil society as a third sector and powerful force beyond state and market to make this possible. Civil society organizations, citizens' associations and social movements have an impressive historical record of having given a genuine voice to the those who are economically marginalized and socially discriminated against. They continue to do so to this day. As civic society organizations have neither the governing mandate of the state nor corporate economic power, they have to rely on the power of ideas and words (and data, if available) with which to fight for "the moral and political legitimacy of people's rights to …manage and use their own resource as a transformative force".4

The recognition of the rights of all people worldwide to their shared resources demands civic engagement apart from state and market. However, participatory democracy faces significant challenges today when we see widespread political apathy and citizen disengagement. They are unwelcome and dangerous signals of resignation that have to be resisted. It is easy to be discouraged and remain detached. But if we are serious in wanting to build a better world, we cannot afford to be discouraged. The 'Social Commons' requires us to relate and interact with one another in the spirit of the communality of our humanity and our shared concerns. Collectively we can achieve what seems impossible.

In this sense, the 'Social Commons' is a transformative project for a new and better social order with power ultimately resting with civil society. Only through the concerted actions of members of civil society, people linked by their experience of shared conditions, values and goals can the 'Social Commons' emerge as an ethical/activist project, occupying the space between state and market. Engaged citizens, participating in the decision-making processes affecting their present and future life situations present the triumph of the 'Social Commons' in a way Garrett Hardin5 never expected.

The Social Commons' agenda already exists through the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights which was drafted by citizens - not politicians - from all parts of the world. With its emphasis on the provision of living standards adequate for the health and wellbeing of all individuals and their families, the Declaration of Human Rights sets out the conditions for the wellbeing of all people.

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3 Francine Mestrum (July 1, 2013), Promoting the Social Commons, transform-network.net

4 James B. Quilligan (2012:81) "Why Distinguish Common Goods from Public Good? in the Wealth of the Commons. A World Beyond Market and State, edited by David Bollier and Silke Helfrich, Levelers Press, Amhurst, MA

5 Garrett Hardin, (December 13,1968) The Tragedy of the Commons, math.uchicago.ed

Marvyn's work and thinking are not forgotten. The Marvyn Novick Legacy Group, all former colleagues, is committed to continue working with and expanding his ideas, particularly on the Social Commons, in our own writings and on our website. With the development of five foundational pillars, reflecting our understanding of the Social Commons, we have sought to confirm the relevance of Marvyn's thinking for socio-economic and political action today.

Visit us at socialcommons.ca

Brigitte Kitchen PhD is a close friend and colleague of Marvyn.